

**WITHDRAWN**







PORTRAITS  
OF  
ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED

FROM AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY, AND THE  
PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

**Biographical and Historical Memoirs**

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY EDMUND LODGE, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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## CONTENTS.

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### VOLUME IV.

1. MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE. . GERARD. 1621  
*From the Collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney, Bart., Penshurst.*
2. THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER. . JANSSEN. 1621  
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House.*
3. HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON. MIREVELT. 1624  
*From the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.*
4. JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON. VAN SOMER. 1624  
*From the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.*
5. CHARLES HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM. . . . . 1624  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.*
6. LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND. VAN SOMER. 1624  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.*
7. FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN. . VAN SOMER. 1626  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.*
8. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK. . ZUCCHERO. 1626  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle Howard.*
9. EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER. ZUCCHERO. 1627  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.*
10. LUCY HARRINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD. HONTHORST. 1627  
*Widowed.*  
*From the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.*

11. GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. JANSSEN. 1628  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at  
 Grove Park.*
12. FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE. . . . . 1628  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable Willoughby de Broke, at  
 Compton-Verney.*
13. GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES. . . . . ZUCCHERO. 1629  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at  
 Gorhambury.*
14. WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE. . VANDYKE. 1630  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, at  
 Wilton House.*
15. SIR HUGH MIDDLETON. . . . . 1631  
*From the Original, in Goldsmiths' Hall, London.*
16. HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND. VANDYKE. 1632  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at  
 Petworth.*
17. GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. . 1633  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at  
 Gorhambury.*
18. RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND. . VANDYKE. 1634  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at  
 Gorhambury.*
19. WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON. . . . . 1639  
*From the Collection of Thomas Blount, Esq. at Bellamour.*
20. FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND. VANDYKE. 1639  
*From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.*
21. SIR HENRY WOTTON. . . . . JANSSEN. 1639  
*From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.*
22. THOMAS, LORD KEEPER COVENTRY. . . . . JANSSEN. 1640  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at the  
 Grove.*
23. FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD. . . VANDYKE. 1641  
*From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.*
24. THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD. VANDYKE. 1641  
*From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at  
 Petworth.*





MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE..

OB. 1621.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERRARD IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY BART





## MARY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

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THIS lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and president of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well-known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable but his affection for her family, negotiated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match:—

“Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my exceedyng great comfort, the lykeleod of a maryge betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attrIBUTE to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power: Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's

MARY SIDNEY,

is so happy an advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my deerst Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer. I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth mutch to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvving ; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will ; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull sight of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty ; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wylyngly would gyve it ; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp ; and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good work, and to requyte you for the same, for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after the date of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit, for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless, therefore, that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on women of her rank, but attained to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. She

has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms, is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegance of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

“It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marvelled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land; that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we in the meanwhile, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome way; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with grieve, nor behold our port but with teares; nor approach our home and quiet abode, but with horreur and trembling.

MARY SIDNEY,

This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing ; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes within sometimes without, never cease to torment us ; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds ; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts ; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke ; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port ; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting-place ; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour ; of taking comfort at the sight of our land ; of singing at the approch of our happie mansion ; we would faine, who would beleeve it ? retake our worke in hande ; we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines : our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten : we feare no more the travailes or the theeves : contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine ; we doubt it as a rocke ; we flie it as a thiefe ; we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke ; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feelee no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease ; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitterness, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued ; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's *Astrophel*, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of *Astrea* (Queen Elizabeth) which appears in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*: the one unworthy of the subject,

## COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

and of her affection: the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure, and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

### 1.

- T. I sing divine Astrea's praise.  
O Muses, help my wits to raise,  
And heave my verses higher.
- P. Thou needs the truth but plainly tell,  
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,  
Thou art so great a liar.

### 2.

- T. If in my song no more I shew  
Than heaven and earth, and sea do know,  
Then truly have I spoken.
- P. Sufficeth not no more to name,  
But being no less, the like the same;  
Else laws of truth be broken.

### 3.

- T. Then say she is so good, so fair,  
With all the world she may compare,  
Nor Momus' self denying.
- P. Compare may think where likeness holds;  
Nought like to her the earth enfolds:  
I look'd to find you lying.

### 4.

- T. Soon as Astrea shews her face,  
Strait every ill avoids the place,  
And every good aboundeth.
- P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,  
The last doth come, the first doth go;  
How loud this lye resoundeth.

She translated from the French the tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion, consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy

of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression: generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him.  
 I saw him wronged, and yet did not excuse him.  
 I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.  
 I had his blessinges, yet I did abuse him.  
 But was it myne, or my forefathers' deede,  
 Whose'er it was, it makes my heart to bleed.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;  
 To see the hands that brake that livelye breade;  
 To see the heade whereon our honor stoode;  
 To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—  
 Feete pearc'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—  
 Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no resting-place:  
 He heal'd ech payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:  
 Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace:  
 Gave all hartes joy, himself in heavynesse:  
 Suffred them live by whome himselfe was slayne.  
 Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.  
 There is a losse that tells me of a love.  
 Betwixt them both a state of such a strife  
 As makes my spyritt such a passion prove,  
 That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas!  
 Makes me the woeful'st wretch that ever was.

## COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

The truth seems to be, that Lady Pembroke as a poet was spoiled by adulation, and complimented into self-conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits anticipated the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitzgeffrey, Lanyer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not "dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough;" and another calls himself the "Triton of her praise." Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,  
And most resembling both in shape and spirit,  
Her brother dear;

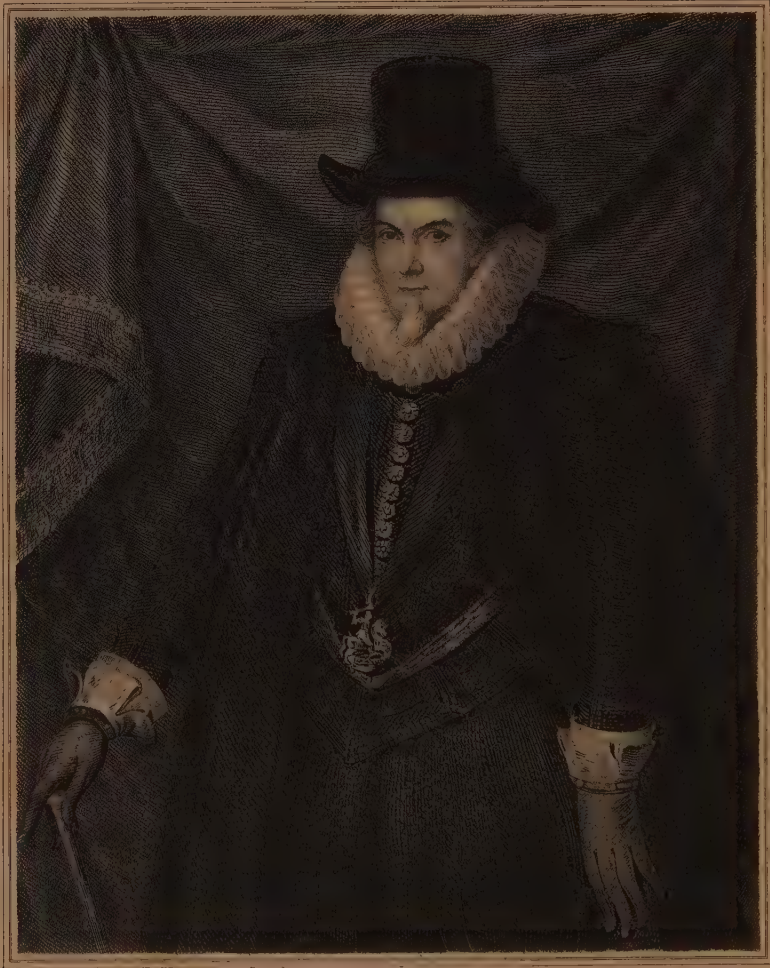
and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

She died at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb:—

Underneath this marble hearse  
Lies the subject of all verse:  
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:  
Death, ere thou hast slain another,  
Wise, and fair, and good as she,  
Time shall throw a dart at thee.







Engraved by J. Cochran

THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

OB. 1621.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER.





## THOMAS CECIL,

FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

---

THIS Peer, who seems to have been a man of talents at least respectable, and who certainly maintained always a most unblemished reputation, wisely and modestly contented himself with the reflected dignity of his father's splendid and spotless fame, and left to his younger brother the painful pre-eminence of emulating it in the exercise of the highest offices of the State. He was the only son of the admirable William Lord Burghley, by his first Lady, Mary, daughter of Peter, and sister of the noted Sir John, Cheke, and was born on the fifth of May, 1542. His education, considering his rank, was probably but decent. His father entertained singular opinions on that important subject, and they stand recorded. In a letter to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1575, Burghley says, "I wish your son all the good education that may be meet to teach him to fear God, love your Lordship, his natural father, and to know his friends; without any curiosity of human learning, which, without the fear of God, I see doth great hurt to all youth in this time and age." It is but reasonable to suppose that he trained his own children in some conformity to remarkable principles thus privately avowed to a most confidential friend.

Be this as it might, his heir attached himself to a military life. He was, however, returned a burgess for the town of Stamford as soon as he had attained the age of twenty-one, and represented that borough in two future Parliaments, as he did afterwards

repeatedly the counties of Lincoln and Northampton. In 1573 he was a volunteer in Sir William Drury's inroad into Scotland, and served with credit in the obstinate siege and reduction of Edinburgh by which it was rendered remarkable. An original letter written by him to his father, immediately upon his return from that expedition, may be found in the Cotton MSS., and seems to deserve a place here, not only because it exhibits features somewhat characteristic of the writer, but for the mention of that remarkable person, Maitland of Lethington, who, on the failure of his suit here alluded to for Elizabeth's merciful intercession, shortly afterwards died by his own hand at Leith.

"My dewty unto y<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipp most humbly remembrid, w<sup>th</sup> the like humble requeste of your dailye blessing boothe to me and myne, it may please yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipp to understand that uppō my comming home, w<sup>ch</sup> was the vi<sup>th</sup> of this present, I fownde my grandmother newly come to remayne here at yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipp's howse, whereof my wife & I doo take no small comforte. It hath pleased her to graunte for the bourding of hirselfe, hir two maydes, & hir man, hir tithe of S<sup>t</sup>. Martin's, and the milke of tenne of hir kye at Burghley. Hir sight is almoste quite decayed, & withowt any hoope of recovery, so as necessitie hath most perswaded hir to beginne to give over the worlde, and so I trust the great quiettnes she shall receive therby wilbe an occasion of the prolonging of hir yeres."

"Uppon th' ending of the troubles of Scottland, I was in minde, withe the compagny of th' Imbassador to have done my reverence unto the yong King, so as by reason of his late disesease of the small pockes it was not thought a tyme convenient. The Rejeant's grace bestowed a hawke uppon me at my coming awaye, w<sup>ch</sup>, for lacke of cariage, I lefte behinde me."

"It may please yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipp, uppon my coming awaye, & after some tyme of discourse withe the Lorde Liddington, w<sup>ch</sup> onely tended to the assured hoope he repoosed in the Quene's Ma<sup>tie's</sup> mercy, & yo<sup>r</sup>. Lordshipp's good meane, he required me, w<sup>th</sup>

## FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

his most humble commendations, to recomend this his letter w<sup>ch</sup> I send unto yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp, and to accompagny the same w<sup>th</sup> my good reporte of himself, whoose life semith to be so deare unto him as I doo not mistruste butt he will promise inough; howsoever he meanith to perfourme it, and therfore I remayne doubtfull what reporte to make. The beste is he is oratour good inough for him selfe, and in that respect I leave him to be his own advocate."

"Thus I leave yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp to the government of Almighty God. From yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp's House of Burghley, the vii<sup>th</sup> of June, 1573.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp's moste loving & obedient sonne,

"THO. CECILL."

He was knighted by Elizabeth during her remarkable visit to the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth, in July, 1575, and took a part in the performance of the splendid masques and pageants by which it was distinguished. So, too, in 1581 he was among the foremost of the challengers, and acquired great credit, in the jousts and tournaments which were exhibited at the Court to celebrate the arrival of the Queen's suitor, the Duke of Alençon. In 1585 he joined the little army then sent to the Netherlands, whether in the character of a volunteer, or with any appointed command, we are not informed, and, on the delivery to Elizabeth of what were called the cautionary towns, was appointed Governor of the Brill. He remained for a little more than two years in the Low Countries, and, soon after his return, still cherishing his warlike inclination, embarked in the great fleet which was fitted out to sustain the attack of the Spanish Armada, and was personally engaged in the celebrated contest of six days which terminated in the discomfiture of the assailants. On the fourth of August, 1598, he succeeded, on the departure of his father, to the Barony of Burghley, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1601, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

The affection of James to Sir Robert Cecil his half brother, abundantly recommended Burghley to the notice of that Prince,

who, immediately on his accession, caused him to be sworn of the Privy Council, appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Northampton, and soon after offered him an Earldom, a dignity which at that time he declined to accept. Collins, in his peerage, has printed a letter from him, conveying that refusal, and addressed to "Sir John Hobart," whom Collins calls "Attorney General." Here is some gross mistake, which however cannot be corrected, as no reference is given to the repository in which the original remains. Sir John Hobart never was Attorney General. His father, Sir Henry, did hold that office, but he was not appointed to it till three years after the date of the letter in question, nor was his son John, or any other John Hobart, at that time a Knight. The probability is that it was addressed to some other person of distinction and that Collins mis-read the name. Of the genuineness of the letter in all other respects there can be no reason to doubt. I give it here as it stands in the Peerage.

"Sir John Hubbert,

"Your letter fownde me in such estate as rather I desyred three days ease of payne than to delyght to think of anny tytle of honnour—I am resolvyd to contente myself with this estate I have of a Baron, and my p'sent estate of lyving, howsoever those of the world hath enlargyd it, I fynd lyttell inough to meynteyne the degree I am in ; and I am sure they that succeed me wyll be less hable to maynteyne it then I am, consydering there wyll goo owt of the Baronage three yonger broother's lyvings. This is all I can wryte unto you at this tyme, being full of payne, and therfore yow must be content wyth this my brefe wryting ; and I give yow my very hartie thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> good wyshes, and thynk myself beholdyng to those my friends that had care of me therin ; and so I rest.

"Burghley,  
this 12<sup>th</sup> of January, 1603.

"Your assured frend,  
"THO. BURGHELEY."

He afterwards consented to accept this title. On the fourth of

## FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

May, 1605, a patent passed the Great Seal creating him Earl of Exeter; and on the same day his brother was advanced to the Earldom of Salisbury, with a special reservation of precedence of him, which is said to have caused for a time some ill-blood between them. Their difference however was speedily accommodated, for the envy and malice excited by this simultaneous accumulation of honours on the two brothers, and the unlimited favour and confidence bestowed by the King on one of them, rendered it prudent for them to make common cause with each other. They were assailed by anonymous libels and pasquinades; their merits undervalued, their very persons ridiculed, and their descent charged with obscurity. On the last of these points the good old Treasurer had always been peculiarly tender and tenacious, and the more because the antiquity of his family was really doubtful; and his sons had followed his example. An original letter from the Earl of Exeter, curiously illustrative of this disposition in them, remains in the Harleian collection, and well merits insertion among these notices of the writer.

“Coosyn Allyngtō,

“Ther is some cawse of late fallen owt of one that gives reproachfull wordes against my broother, and therwithall sayd that it was a strange thyng that such a one as he, whose grandfather was a syvemaker, shold rule the whole State of England; and, though y<sup>e</sup> malyce of the party was towards hym, yett I must be lykewyse sensyble therof myself, being booth dycendid frō hym; thirfor I have thought good to requyre you fourthw<sup>th</sup> to take the paynes to make search in my study at Burghley amōgst my boxes of my evydēces, and I thynk you shall fynd y<sup>e</sup> very wrytt itself by the w<sup>ch</sup> my grādfather, or great grādfather, or booth, were made Sheriffs of Lȳcolshyre or Northāptōshyre, and lykewyse a warrāt frō y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Suffolk in Kyng Henry th’ eight’s tyme to my grādfather, and old Mr. Wỹgfyld, that dead is, for the certifying towchỹg y<sup>e</sup> fall of woodds in Clyff parke, or Rockȳghā Forrest, by the name of ‘Davy Cecyll Esquyre,’

THOMAS CECIL,

w<sup>ch</sup> tyle at those dayes was not usyd but to such that ware gentyllmē of note, wher comonly they were entytled but by y<sup>e</sup> name of gentyllmē. If you have anny record of yo<sup>r</sup> owne to shewe the dyscent of my great grādfather I pray you send a note thereof lykewyse. My Lord my father's alteryng y<sup>e</sup> wryt̃yng of his name makith many y<sup>t</sup> are not well affected to owr Howse to dowbt whyther we be ryghtly descendid of y<sup>e</sup> Howse of Wales, because they wryght ther names 'Sitselt,' and o<sup>r</sup> name is wrytte 'Cecyll:' my grādfather wrote it 'Sys sell;' and so in ortography all these names dyffer, wherof I mervayl what movyd my L. my father to alter it. I have my Lord's pedegree very well set owt, which he left unto me. I pray you lett this be secrett unto yoursele, w<sup>ch</sup> my broother of Sallysburye dysyred me so to give in charge unto you: and so I comēd me very kyndly unto your selfe, and my good awnte yo<sup>r</sup> wyffe. Fro<sup>r</sup> London, this xiii<sup>th</sup> of November, 1605.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> very lovyg coosyn and frend,

"To my looving frende and

"EXETER."

cosen, Hugh Allington, Esquyer.

He continued, doubtless by his own choice, to live chiefly in a splendid privacy. In 1616 he was appointed, with some more Privy Counsellors, to restore the cautionary towns in form to the States General. He seems, towards the conclusion of his life, to have taken up an inclination to church-government, for in 1618 he accepted a nomination, with others, to proceed summarily against Jesuits and seminary priests, with authority to banish them the realm; and in 1620 was joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in a special Ecclesiastical commission for that province, and, towards the end of the same year, in another for that of York. He left some proofs too, not only of a charitable disposition, but of an affection to learning, for he founded and endowed a hospital at Lidington, in Rutlandshire, for a warden, twelve poor men, and two women; and gave an estate to Clare Hall, in Cambridge, for the maintenance of three fellows, and eight scholars.

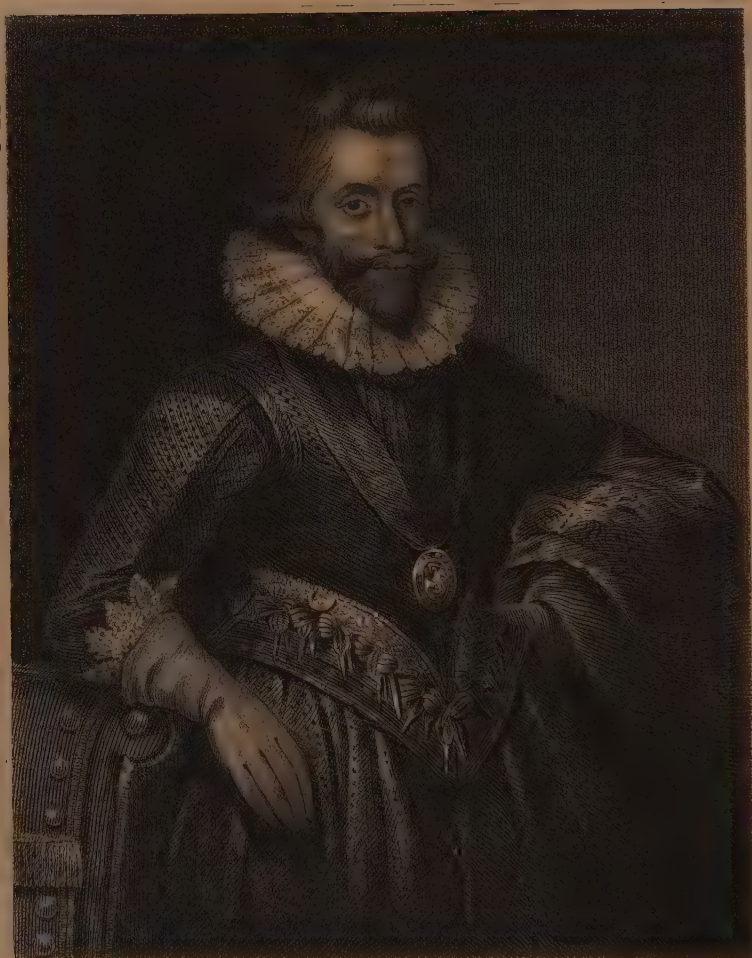
## FIRST EARL OF EXETER.

He died on the seventh of February, 1621, O.S. and was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

This nobleman was twice married ; first, to Dorothy, daughter and coheir of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had a very numerous issue. The sons were William, his successor ; Richard, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is descended ; Edward, a celebrated military commander, who was created by King Charles the First Baron Cecil of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon, and died without male issue ; Christopher ; and Thomas—the daughters—Catherine, who died unmarried ; Lucy, wife of William Powlett, third Marquis of Winchester ; Mildred, married first to Sir Thomas Read, secondly to Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, in Lancashire ; Mary, to Edward Lord Denny ; Susan, who died unmarried ; Elizabeth, wife, first to Sir William Hatton, and after, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke ; Dorothy, married to Sir Giles Allington, of Horseheath, in Cambridgeshire ; and Frances, to Sir Nicholas Tufton, afterwards created Earl of Thanet. He took to his second Lady, Frances, eldest daughter of William Brydges, fourth Lord Chandos, widow of Sir Thomas Smith, of Parson's Green, in Middlesex, and had by her one daughter, Sophia Anne, who died young, and unmarried.







Engraved by S. Freeman.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON..

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MIREVELT, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.





# HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

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OF the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakspeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton, which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled, "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the *Garland*, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Terceira, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this

## EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598, Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, "clean contrary," says Camden, "to the Deputy's instructions;" for it seems that Southampton had, not long before, offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively: Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this awful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. "He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, "for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex: that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which

was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him : that his sword had not been drawn all that day : that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels : that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity, not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him ; and this he did," concludes Camden, " in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced, through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another, a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. " That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, " acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed singularly enough, " to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his Countess : in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named

## EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is nowhere clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alleged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that Corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military affairs did in fact soon after recur on him; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the duchy of Cleves.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

In 1617 he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land, that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return : on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain, however, it is, that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. "March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alre dy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still hereafter desierus to acquaint you w<sup>th</sup> what concernes mee, & bould to ask your advice & counsell, w<sup>ch</sup> makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, w<sup>ch</sup> I cannot better doe than by send-

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

inge unto you the answer itself, w<sup>ch</sup> you shall receave heereinlosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not only magnifie his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s gracious dealinge w<sup>th</sup> mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, and restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, w<sup>ch</sup> if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is impossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see anny other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready as is fitt, to acknowledge his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee comitted deserved more punishment then I have had, & hope his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre chamber-sentence, w<sup>ch</sup> God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speak as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe to-morrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement there, to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe w<sup>th</sup> mee, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, & seames much troubled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it, you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little trouble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I beseech you returne by him the inclosed L<sup>re</sup>, & beleieve that, whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend to do you servis,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the  
Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—"For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive. "There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, "to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"—and again—"Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself, to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of

## EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature and connexion with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakspeare's two short dedications, however, of the Poems of Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant, that Southampton gave to Shakspeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "Guide to Tongues," that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his *Britannia*, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that county — "*Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat:*" the other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers. The nature and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—"The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY.

H. G. 1618." In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,  
Which on free greatnes too oft attends,  
Can by presumption threaten your free state ;  
For these presaging sea-birds do amate  
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes  
By their approach to feare the future windes  
Of all calamitie, no lesse than they  
Portend to seamen a tempestuous day ;  
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,  
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto "In utraque perfectus," is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will  
Dislike this union, or not labour still  
To reconcile the arts and victory ?  
Since in themselves arts have this quality,  
To vanquish errour's traine ; what other then  
Should love the arts if not a valiant man ?  
Or how can he resolve to execute  
That hath not first learn'd to be resolute ?  
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,  
Your great example shall their spite confute.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned ; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the First, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the Second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters ; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton ; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants ; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.





Engraved by H.T.Ryall

JAMES, MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER. IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.





## JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

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THE slender notices that are to be found variously scattered relative to this nobleman's story will furnish but an outline which it is now too late to expect should ever be filled up. The writers of his own country could have little to record of one who had in a manner quitted it for ever in early youth, and the jealousy of those of the land to which he emigrated probably induced them to leave the events of his manhood in almost total obscurity. This has been the common fate of almost all the Scots who accompanied or followed James on his accession to the English Throne. If our historians could not reasonably find the means of treating them with scorn and vituperation, they passed them over in silence. Thus however we are enabled to draw at least a negative inference that our present subject was a man of fair character and conduct.

He was born in the year 1589, the only son of John, first Marquis of Hamilton, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Glamis, Chancellor of Scotland. The ever active loyalty of his father, and grandfather, the Regent Duke of Chatelherault, who had constantly employed the power with which their near propinquity in blood to the Scottish Crown invested them only to maintain it on the heads of Mary and her son, had greatly impaired their princely revenues, and James, when too young to estimate duly their services, had been made an instrument by his first, and most worthless favourite, James Stewart, in the further depression of this illustrious House. The young Hamilton was sent abroad in his childhood, and returned not till shortly before his father's death,

## JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

which occurred in 1604, when the King gave, or rather restored to him, for they had been some years before wrested from the family, the estates of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, in the shire of Forfar, and pressinglly invited him to court, where, soon after his arrival, he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber.

He is said to have been one of the handsomest and most polite men of his time, and his letters, of which some specimen will presently be given, clearly indicate a lively and jocose temper. James, whom such qualities always delighted, even to fascination, and who was probably anxious also to atone for the share which he had been induced to take in the persecution of the Hamiltons, soon manifested an extravagant partiality towards him. "It is certain," says Collins, in his Peerage, but without quoting his authority, "that no person could have disputed with him the King's affection and confidence, the Duke of Buckingham excepted;" and he seems to have lived too on the best terms with the favourite himself. It was not long before he was sworn of the Privy Council, and raised to the office of Lord Steward of the Household: on the sixteenth of June 1619, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron of Ennerdale in Cumberland and Earl of Cambridge, a dignity which had never before been granted but to persons of the blood royal.

Nor were his services confined to the decoration of a Court. In 1621, a period at which the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland required profound judgment and address, James appointed him High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the fourth of August, N.S. in that year. It was in this Parliament that those new regulations in the discipline of the Scottish Church, well known by the name of the five articles of Perth, from their having been concluded on in a general assembly held three years before in that town, were now finally ratified. The observance of them had hitherto been rejected by a multitude of ministers, with all the pertinacity which so peculiarly distinguishes calvinistic dissent, while the King, with every good reason on his side, was not less obstinately determined to

## JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

enforce it. The passing of the Act, which was voted but by a small majority, was mainly ascribed to the discreet conduct of the Marquis, and the submission to it which followed, to the well placed moderation and severity which he subsequently exercised. He returned to the enjoyment of increased favour, and on the seventh of July, 1623, was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Here, most unexpectedly, closed his brief and brilliant career. On the third of March, 1624, O.S., in the very prime of his life and his prosperity, he died at Whitehall, after a very short illness. When the news was communicated to James, who was then in ill health, he is said to have exclaimed, alluding also to the recent and yet more sudden death of another of his kinsmen, the Duke of Richmond, "If the branches are thus cut down the root will shortly follow;" and it was prophetically said, for on the twenty-seventh of the same month he himself expired. Arthur Wilson, whose reports, however, it is too often prudent to receive with some caution, gives the following remarkable circumstances of the Marquis's departure. "The Marquis Hamilton," says he, "died before our King, suspected to be poisoned, the symptoms being very presumptuous; his head and body swelling to an excessive greatness; the body being all over full of great blisters, with variety of colours. The hair of his head and beard came off without being touched, and brought the skin with them; and there was a great clamour of it in the Court, so that doctors were sent for to view the body; but the matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it: only Dr. Eglisbam, a Scotsman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the author of it. The Marquis's son had a little before married the Earl of Denbigh's daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's niece, and yet this tie could not oblige a friendship between them, because the Marquis was averse to the marriage. This distance, and other discontents, occasioned some tumerous discourses, which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's time, being bound up close, as it was thought, more by the Duke's power than his innocency.

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

Now it is scarcely possible that Wilson's statement as to any enmity existing between these noblemen can be correct, more especially arising from the cause to which he ascribes it. The two young persons whom he mentions were married in 1620, and there are in the Harleian collection three original letters, on trifling subjects, from Hamilton to Buckingham, a short extract from one of which will be presently inserted, written in terms not only of the highest friendship but of gaiety and cordiality, the sincerity of which cannot be suspected, during Buckingham's absence in Spain with Prince Charles in 1623. I give the following, from the Marquis to the Prince himself at that time, not only for some intrinsic curiosity which it possesses, but for the sake of the short passage in which Buckingham is mentioned under the title of "the Admiral."—

May it plaes your Hynes,

Your goodnes is the caus that in all my lyf I never studied befor hand what to say to you, my hairt telling me I micht tell you without danger what it thocht, and now, lat it luk as God and you plaes, have with you in the old fachoun. Hour Hynes' lettir gave me such comfort, for the wich God thank you, as helth eftar siknes, or welth eftar want, or a grant, eftar many denyalls, to a passionat lover. Such distress was I in, being jelous of your favour, that I longed to kno the caus why I was used with so much distrust, having my interes in your good sum degries moir thaen most subjects, and, tho bot for that, wold never have betrayed you to robbers by the way. This my curiositi, and almost mutinie, I am suir cumith from a passionat love, and so in justice may claim a pardoun by cours; bot for your jornay itself, which is now the filosoficall questioun of this Ile, I must say that many thinkis heir the good sukses dependis yeit a litill on chance. I am nothing of that mynd, for I kno your Hynes' own curage and wisdoun, and the faithfull service of the Admirall, can maik those thair se thair advantage in your love. For my pairt, if any heir mistrust, as my Lady Wrothi's bouk says, that you will not do gallantly,

JAMES, SECOND MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

I shall gainsay it, if want of curage hindir me not, for I dar be bound, not only, in the French fachoun, body and goodis, bot body, and goodis, and honor to, upon your word ; and, in the maen tym, prays God to preserve your Hynes, as

Your Hynes' faithfull

and humbles servan,

J. HAMILTON.

*Whythall*

*xii April.*

The journey to Madrid was a creature of Buckingham's ambition ; agreeable doubtless for its novelty to Charles, who was however probably indifferent as to the result in contemplation. It may be reasonably inferred from a passage towards the conclusion of this epistle that Charles had shown little warmth in his suit to the Infanta, and the conjecture seems to be nearly confirmed by the following extract of a letter from the Marquis to Buckingham of the second of the same month—"I besich you taik the painis to tell the Prince, for I have not boldness anuf to wryt it myself, that I pray very hartely for him now I deir sueir he is a perfytt brave man. He wanted of old that one poynt to be of the fraternitie of fierce lovers, in wich ardour God send him good luk. It is much talked heir whether it war good you cam home before the Prince or no : for my pairt, I know not what counsell to give, bot leaves it to what your ouin hairt and God Almighty will advys you."

This nobleman married Anne, fourth daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, who brought him three sons, and as many daughters. James, created Duke of Hamilton, and William, who succeeded his brother in that honour, both of whom will be found treated of at large in the course of this work ; and John, who died young. The daughters were Anne, who married Hugh Montgomery, seventh Earl of Eglington ; Margaret, wife of John, first Earl of Crawford and Lindsay ; and Mary, married to James Douglas, second Earl of Queensberry.







Engraved by H. Robinson

CHARLES HOWARD, FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERULAM.



УТІРЯВАННІ ПОСІДКА  
УРАДІ  
ОНО ЗЛИВНАГО

# CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

OF his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk,) by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy, because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the Ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the

force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year, appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers, who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time, insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless; Walsingham therefore, to spare expense, despatched an express to recall four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain

## FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedence; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him

the office of Earl Marshal; Nottingham, in his turn, now became disgusted; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with this generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence: Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberrations

## FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

tions of temper which preceded her dissolution, Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expenses; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate; his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly

at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties ; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease ; and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year), easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing, in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds ; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred ; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the Second to his ancestors the Mowbrays ; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery ; he ever after called the Earl “ father,” and bent the knee on coming into his presence ; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

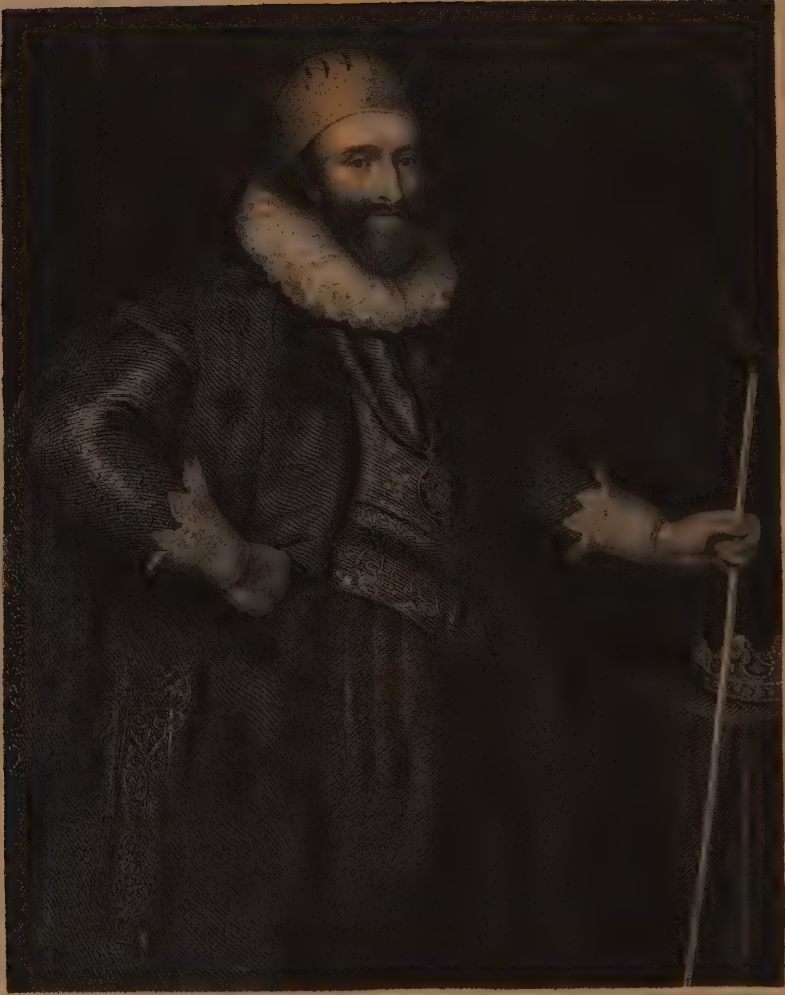
This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December, in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house at Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married ; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons ; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough ; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates ; and three daughters ; Elizabeth, wife

#### FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well-known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.







Engraved by W.T. Motte

LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF AAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF EGREMONT





# LODOWICK STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

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THIS nobleman, whose character seems to have been as estimable as his birth was illustrious, was first-cousin, once removed, to King James the First ; for his grandfather John, Lord Aubigny, was second brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, the father of Henry, Lord Darnley, who had reigned in Scotland, in right of his Queen, the celebrated Mary. He was the elder of the two sons of Esme Stuart, first Duke of Lenox in that country, by Catherine, youngest daughter of William de Balzac, Lord of Entragues and Marcoussis, in Auvergne, descended from one of the most ancient and noble families in that part of France, and was born on the twenty-ninth of September, 1574. He succeeded to his father's dignities, among which may perhaps not improperly be reckoned the offices of Hereditary Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland, in the year 1583 ; and we are told, by at least one credible writer, that James, on undertaking his nuptial visit to Denmark in 1589, appointed him Viceroy of Scotland during its continuance ; and declared him heir to the Crown—an inheritance to which, admitting all the latitude which the law of Scotland allows to collaterals, he had at that time scarcely a distant presumptive claim.

He had passed much of the early part of his life in France, and in such estimation, that the King entrusted to him the command of his celebrated regiment of Scots Guards ; for his father, who had lived there at least as much as in Scotland, had been most

## LODOWICK STUART,

confidentially and very actively engaged in superintending the relative affairs of the two Crowns, and was at length in a manner exiled thither through the intrigues of Elizabeth with the enemies of Mary. Thus in some measure qualified for the office, James sent the young Duke ambassador to Henry the Fourth in July, 1601. He remained however but five months at Paris; and returning through London passed a short time in the court of Elizabeth, who entertained him with great magnificence, and apparent cordiality. He was the first, not only in dignified rank, but also in royal favour, of the crowd of his countrymen who accompanied James to England when he mounted the throne, and was presently distinguished accordingly: for on the second of July, 1603, he was invested, together with Prince Henry, with the Order of the Garter. The Duke of Sully, who now came on the part of the French King to congratulate James on his accession, informs us that the Scottish faction, as he calls it, at the Court of London, was at that time divided into two branches, the one headed by Lenox, the other by the Earl of Mar, and that a reciprocal and inveterate hatred subsisted between them; not, as he observes, regarding political affairs, for none of them were "acquainted with the business of the Cabinet, and they were equally inclined to France; but merely from competition for the advantage in the King's favour." This, so far at least as it relates to the Duke, is undoubtedly correct. It is the only intimation that we have of his being ever engaged in any party. He gained the King's favour; enjoyed it uninterruptedly during the whole of his life; and was contented.

His embassy was renewed in the winter of 1604. John Chamberlaine, the lively correspondent of Secretary Winwood, writes to that minister on the eighteenth of December—"the Duke of Lenox is presently going in embassy for France; and though it be thought that his own business is his greatest employment, yet for this (his) countenance this place is imposed on him, and three thousand pounds to bear his charge." He was ill received at Paris, for when he arrived there he found the court in the

greatest ferment on the discovery of some treasonable practices of Francis de Balzac, Count d'Entragues, his mother's brother, and one of the most intriguing men in France. The same John Chamberlaine tells Winwood, in a letter of the twenty-sixth of the succeeding February—"the Duke of Lenox is not yet returned, but some of his forerunners are come, who report that he found but coarse entertainment, whether it were by reason of his uncle Entragues' disgrace, or upon complaint of the French ambassador here that he is no more respected, and therefore hath sent for his leave to be gone." He arrived in London a few days after.

In 1607 he was appointed High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, for some years after which date he seems to have moved only in the ordinary line of a courtier of his exalted rank. In June, 1613, he was again despatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to sift the inclination of that court on the question of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal of France; and on the sixth of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Settrington, of Settrington, in Yorkshire, and Earl of Richmond. It should seem that James had not conferred these honours on him with the readiness that his constant expressions of affection towards the Duke might have given him room to expect; for on the sixth of the preceding May we have again that agreeable court-gossip, Chamberlaine, writing to Winwood—"the Duke of Lenox had a pretence to be made Duke or Earl of Richmond, and so by consequence an English Peer of Parliament, and to that purpose had procured divers noblemen's hands to present to the King on that behalf; but, finding more difficulty in the presenting it than he expected, hath given it over for the time."

In October, 1615, he was deputed, together with the Lords Chancellor and Chief Justice, to examine personally the miserable Robert Carre; Earl of Somerset, and on the first of the following month was appointed Lord Steward of the Household. In several succeeding years we have no intelligence of him further than that he was engaged in some of those commercial speculations which

the great men of that time encouraged with a show of splendid patrician patronage, and a secret view of profit. An original instrument, undertaking the establishment of a colony on the banks of the River of Amazons, signed by himself, the Earls of Arundel, Dorset, Warwick, Clanricarde, and many others, with the several sums respectively contributed by them placed against their names, remains in the Harleian Collection, and it appears that he subscribed three hundred pounds towards the prosecution of this scheme.

He now abandoned all concern in public affairs, for which he seems never to have been much inclined, nor perhaps eminently qualified. It was probably therefore, (not to mention the sweetness of temper, and correctness of manners, which are said to have distinguished him) that he lived in harmony with all men, and all parties. With the haughty and jealous favourite, Buckingham, whom we shall see he was used to call his son, he appears to have been on terms of strict intimacy, even of affection. The following short letter, evidently written in 1622, while Buckingham was attending the Prince of Wales in his romantic visit to Madrid, however insignificant in itself, will tend to prove those facts. Some other originals, always in the same strain and with the same tender address, may be found in the Harleian Collection, from which this is extracted.

“ My noble Lord, and best childe,

“ I was verri glade to rec’ve your letter, and w<sup>th</sup> all of your kinde beleiff and acceptance of my love and respects to you ; and, as for that last cause of my expressions of my obligations and loving respects, I will keep in store till I have the hapeines to see and imbrace you, having only told it to our olde maistre, whome God long presarve. By your last despache you have filled all our hartes (I meane all honest harts) full of joye, for that we heire of his Heighnes’ good and perfit healthe and the good despache of his wourthei desires, w<sup>th</sup> the appearance of his quike retourne, w<sup>th</sup> his full contentment. For my part, I still wische your

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

stay and attendance upon his Heighnes, at leist till the mariage be perfitted, and that he be reddei to come awaye. I hoop longer you shall resave this you have resaved ane lettre of myne concerning this pourpos ; so I will forbear to trouble you further but still assuring you that I am for ever

Your Lo'. most assured loving father and servant,

LENOX.

To my verie good Lord  
the Lord Marques of Buckinghame."

At length, on the seventeenth of May, 1623, he was created Earl of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Duke of Richmond—an elevation which he survived but nine months. Wilson, in his *Life of James the First*, gives an account of the Duke's death and the circumstances attending it in terms which could scarcely be amended. It happened on the twelfth of February, in the following year, the day appointed for the meeting of a new Parliament.

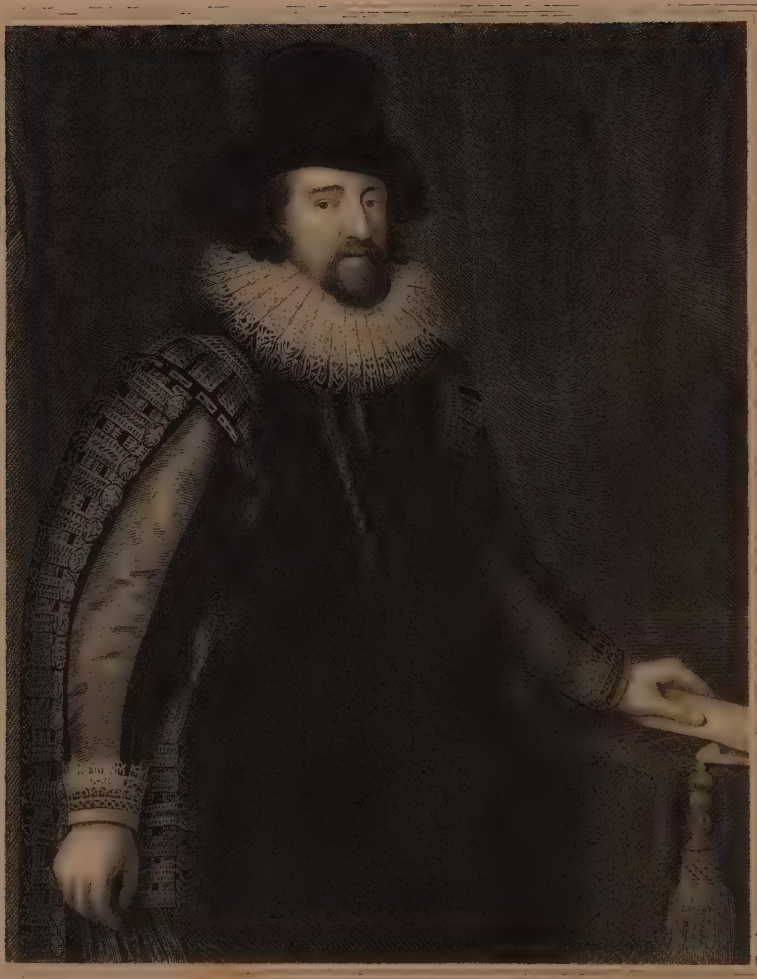
"The morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's attendance, who being a constant observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his limbs to support the grandeur of Majesty at the first solemn meeting of a Parliament ; and calling for him with earnestness, a messenger was despatched to his lodgings in haste, where the King's commands, and the messenger's importunity, made the Duchess, his wife, somewhat unwillingly go to the Duke's bed-side to awake him, who, drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. The suddenness of the affright struck her with so much consternation that she was scarce sensible of the horror of it ; and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant, who might serve as a fore-runner to the King, and an emblem to all his people, that in the dark caverns of man's body death often lurks, which no human prudence or providence is able to discover."

This nobleman had been thrice married, but left no issue. His

LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX.

first lady was Sophia, third daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie in Scotland; his second, Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell, and relict of Robert Montgomery, Master of Eglingtoun, in the same country. He married, thirdly, that remarkable woman, of whom some account is elsewhere given in this work, Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and widow successively of Henry Pranwel, of London, and of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The Duke, and his last Duchess, lie buried in Westminster Abbey, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, under a magnificent monument, which was erected by her order.





Engraved by J. Cochran

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST ALBAN.

OB. 1626.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERULAM.

PROOF





# FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.



It has been determined that the insertion of a portrait of this wonderful man in such a collection as the present is indispensable, and the resolution may possibly be proper. Should it, on the other hand, be thought impertinent to add one more to the many engravings which have already rendered his features so well known to us, some apology for the supererogation may perhaps be reasonably founded on the excellent skill of two artists displayed in this new effort. Not so with the biographer. He finds that the character of Bacon has been long since placed in every possible point of view, and every lineament traced with the most critical exactness; and he will rejoice, if he is prudent, to be spared the perilous task of adding a single touch. Conscious that he cannot safely venture to enlarge the scale of this grand picture, how much more forcibly must he feel the impossibility of reducing it to a miniature; of discussing, to drop the figure, within the limits of a few pages the mysteries of a sublime philosophy, of a profound state policy, and of a character which presents the most awful example extant at once of human wisdom and weakness. Thus impressed, and with scarcely any view but to preserve uniformity of appearance in this work, I proceed to a detail, unavoidably cold and meagre, of circumstances merely historical.

## FRANCIS BACON,

Francis Bacon was the younger of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, by Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister to the wife of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was born at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561, and educated under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Primate, in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was entered at the age of twelve years. It should seem that it was not the intention of his parents to devote him to the profession of the law, for soon after he had left the University, he went to Paris with Sir Amias Powlett, and lived in the house of that minister during his embassy, on the affairs of which he was at least once dispatched to communicate personally with the Queen; but his father having been prevented, as is said, by a sudden death, in 1579, from making the provision intended for him, he returned and enrolled himself a member of the society of Gray's Inn. Here he studied the common law with the closest application, and relaxed his giant mind by laying the foundation of his philosophy. He remained long at the bar, undistinguished but by his talents and his eloquence, and by the extensive practice to which they had conducted him; nor was it till 1588 that he obtained even the degree of Counsel to the Queen, for he had cultivated a strict intimacy with Essex, the uniform rival, and indeed enemy, of his powerful relations the Cecils, who therefore in a great measure denied him their patronage. It is true that they gave him the reversion of an office of considerable emolument, the Registership of the Star-chamber, and this was perhaps the only instance of their favour ever experienced by him.

He waited, however, patiently till the year 1596, when the office of Solicitor General becoming vacant, Essex and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to place him in it. They were unsuccessful, and here we meet with a wonderful proof of the romantic generosity and grandeur of that nobleman's heart. Sympathising with his disappointed friend, and stung with anger at the slight which had been put on his own suit, he instantly determined to

alienate a part of his estate to Bacon, from whose pen we have a recital of the conversation which occurred when the Earl visited him to declare his intention. "After the Queen," says he, "had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park, and brake with me, and said, ' Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance, yet you have spent your time and your thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.' " Twickenham Park, here mentioned, was the gift bestowed on him, including one of Essex's highly ornamented mansions, particularly celebrated for its pleasure grounds, which had obtained the name of the "garden of paradise." Yet Bacon, painful to relate, when that unhappy nobleman was some years after arraigned, not only pleaded against him at the bar, but at length published a declaration of his treasons with the view of justifying his execution. The nation shuddered at this ingratitude to its favourite. Bacon was universally execrated, and even threatened with assassination. He addressed an apology, which may be found in his works, to the Earl of Devonshire, one of Essex's bosom friends, from which the passage just now given is extracted; but the stain which he had cast on himself was then too glaring, and he missed even the sordid reward at which he had aimed, for Elizabeth's ministers, to whom he had thus sold himself, durst not admit him publicly into their councils.

By James, who loved learning better than morals, and sought for servants at once wise and pliant, he became presently in some measure distinguished. He was among the first to prefer his claims to that Prince's favour, and had assiduously courted the great men of both nations, and of all parties, as well religious as political, to forward them. He had been long a member of the

House of Commons, in which his exact knowledge of the temper of that body gave him perhaps more weight even than his admirable powers of mind, or his eloquence, and he rendered himself now essentially useful in forwarding there the King's favourite objects; for while he was, in fact, the confidential agent for the Crown, he had the address to persuade the House of his entire independence, and to strengthen that impression, frequently espoused measures which he privately meditated to overthrow. This practice, then a novelty in parliamentary tactics, remained long unsuspected; his rewards, which doubtless were considerable, were kept as secret as his services, and it was not till the year 1607 that he was at length appointed Solicitor-General; nor did that mark of royal favour tend to impair the confidence in which he was held by the Commons, for in the following session they made choice of him to represent to the King the grievances of the nation, and received with complacency a haughty answer because he had prefaced the delivery of it by a fascinating harangue. He remained without farther preferment till 1613, when on the twenty-seventh of October he obtained the post of Attorney-General.

It was very soon after that period that the memorable George Villiers first appeared at Court, and became instantly a favourite. Bacon was the foremost of the flatterers of his youth and inexperience, and Villiers, justly proud of the friendship of the wisest of his countrymen, and with sufficient prudence to discern the importance of such a counsellor to his own welfare, became earnestly attached to him, and resolved to devote himself to his gratification. On the ninth of July, 1616, the King received Bacon into the Privy Council, a distinction which it was not usual to bestow on Attorneys General; on the third of March, 1617, O. S., delivered the Great Seal to him, as Lord Keeper; and on the fourth of January, in the succeeding year, exalted him to the degree of Lord High Chancellor. In making these several important steps he was assiduously aided by the influence which Villiers exercised over James, while his consummate policy in the pursuit of his own

interests is almost without a parallel. A letter which may be found in his works, soliciting the King to promote him to the office of Lord Keeper, furnishes a curious instance of the craft with which he advanced his own cause, and undermined the pretensions of others, solely by appealing to the ruling foible in his master's regal character; and this in a method so delicately covert and indirect that all his hints on the subject of prerogative seem to arise collaterally and incidently. The following passage may be a sufficient example—"I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, and, chiefly, because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge: for Audley was raised from a King's Serjeant; my father from Attorney of the Wards; Bromley from Solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place. Now, I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow; first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling man into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your Council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for, though there should be emulation between them, yet, as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best: he is no statesman, but an œconomist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for the business. If you take my Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height is fit only for a King. For myself, I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio," &c.

On the eleventh of July, 1618, Bacon was created Baron of

Verulam, in the county of Herts, and on the twenty-seventh of January, 1620, Viscount St. Alban. The great machine of the State had now fallen chiefly under his direction. James, who, with all his vanity, had too much good sense to slight the dictates of another's wisdom, submitted most matters to his judgment and decision; and a mixture of friendship, veneration, and deference to age and long experience, had brought the warmth and the caprice of Buckingham, by whom so much was governed, in great measure under his controul. His sudden elevation in place, and dignity, and confidence, produced, however, more than usual envy, and aggravated the feelings of his enemies, who were many. The old party of the disgraced Earl of Somerset, which was by no means insignificant, detested him; Sir Edward Coke, with whom he had maintained for many years a constant rivalry and warfare, was his bitter foe, and ruled the opinions of a multitude. Bacon's attachment to Buckingham, which was invariable, had involved him in the unpopularity and jealousy with which that favourite was now surrounded; and the impartiality, whether proceeding from principle or policy, which distinguished his judicial decrees had excited the resentment of numerous individuals in the Court and State whose private interests had been affected by them. Hopeless wishes for his downfall had been secretly formed by thousands, for probity, as well as wisdom, seemed to secure him from all attack, when the House of Commons in the Parliament which met on the thirtieth of January, 1620, only three days after his reception of his new dignity of Viscount, appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the courts of justice, which, on the fifteenth of March, 1620, O. S., reported against him two charges of the grossest corruption. It was fully proved that he had accepted large bribes from two suitors in the chancery, and the turpitude of the offence seemed to acquire a deeper dye from the exceeding necessity of the parties, one of whom had been forced to mortgage an estate to furnish the requisite sum, and the other to borrow miserably of a usurer.

On the motion of Sir Edward Coke these charges were sent up

to the Peers, to whom Bacon, who was, or feigned to be, very ill, sent an expostulatory letter. They answered him with respect and tenderness, and even manifested an inclination to believe him innocent ; but on the very next day new complaints were made to them by the House of Commons, in which more than twenty instances were cited of his having taken bribes, amounting together to many thousand pounds, and the Lords appointed a select committee to take the whole into the most serious consideration. Bacon now threw himself on the favour of the King, and the influence of Buckingham. James, who is said to have lamented his wretched degradation, even with tears, admitted him to a long audience, and procured an adjournment of Parliament for some days, in the hope of devising means to soften his fall, but the only effect of the pause was to produce fresh accusations. Nothing remained but to submit himself to the mercy of the Peers, and, on the twenty-fourth of April, he made a general acknowledgment of his guilt, by a letter to the House, composed with admirable force and beauty of expression, which was presented by the Prince of Wales. The Lords, however, very properly insisted on his answering to each particular charge, which he did, on the thirtieth of the same month, confessing nearly all that had been alleged against him. He was deprived the next day of the Great Seal : and, on the third of May, having in the mean time received a summons to attend the House, which he declined on the score of illness, the Peers, in the simple form of an answer to the House of Commons, then standing at their bar to demand judgment against him, sentenced him to a fine of forty thousand pounds ; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure ; and to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, or of sitting in Parliament.

His confinement was short. James, still anxious to receive his counsels, renewed a personal intercourse with him, and, on the twelfth of the following October, signed a warrant remitting the whole of his sentence, except the parliamentary prohibition, from which also he was at length relieved towards the close of his life.

FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

He retired, loaded with debt, and unable to practise frugality: such indeed were his necessities, that he condescended to sue for the office of Provost of Eton College, and suffered the mortification of a refusal. It is needless to say that his few remaining years were passed in study, but the greater part, and the most important, of his mighty works were composed during the period in which he directed the affairs of the State, and superintended the individual private interests of thousands; a fact almost miraculous. Of those works, as has been already premised, it is impossible here to speak to any purpose: suffice it therefore to say, referring only to their extent, that they consist, according to his own division of them, of two hundred and forty-one distinct treatises, philosophical, historical, religious, and political.

Bacon died on the ninth of April, 1626, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael's Church in the town of St. Albans. He had been married in his middle age, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, an Alderman of London, by whom he left no issue.





Engraved by J. Rolanson

THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SUFFOLK.

O.B. 1626.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF CARLISLE.





# THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

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JAMES the First, deficient as he was in almost all the qualities of a sovereign, possessed several virtues. He was naturally kind, grateful, and just; but he knew not how, or cared not, to clothe those dispositions in royal dignity, and he exercised them with the unostentatious simplicity of private life. The great house of Howard, which had of late years furnished so many victims to the frantic barbarity of Henry, or the cruel policy of Elizabeth, became the first object of his care when he mounted the throne. Not with the view of strengthening his own power, for he found the family in a state of great depression; nor on the score of favouritism, for he never entertained any member of it in that capacity; nor to gain an accession of wisdom to his councils, since Elizabeth had bequeathed to him an ample choice of able ministers; but in a beneficent desire to compensate for past injuries, and in gratitude to the memory of one whose life had been prematurely sacrificed to the cause of his unhappy mother.

The nobleman who is the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of the illustrious and ill-fated person to whom I allude, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second Duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir to Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and at the age of eleven years succeeded to the inheritance of his mother's estates. Elizabeth, with tardy justice, allowed her Parliament in 1585 to release him from the attainder in which his father's sentence had involved him, and

THOMAS HOWARD,

he immediately embraced the profession of arms, which at that time comprehended naval with military service. In 1588 he commanded a ship in the fleet which, under the orders of his kinsman, Charles, Lord Effingham, defeated the memorable Spanish Armada, and was knighted for his gallantry in that great action. In 1591, having been cruising for six months in the neighbourhood of the Azores, in company with four other ships, in the view of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, his little squadron was unexpectedly attacked by a vast force which had sailed from Spain, with secret orders to convoy the treasure. In this unequal combat, of which an exact account is given by Camden, in his life of Elizabeth, the bravery of an English sailor never shone more conspicuously than in the Lord Thomas Howard, who was prevented from devoting himself to certain death only by the prudent disobedience of the master of his ship. He commanded one of the divisions of the fleet in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, as he did again in the following year in a projected attack on the Spanish navy, in its harbours of Ferrol and Corunna, which was afterwards diverted to other objects; and in the end, owing to adverse weather, and perhaps yet more to the jealousy between Essex and Raleigh, proved nearly abortive. In all these services, however, his merit was highly distinguished; and, on his return from the last, Elizabeth gave him the order of the Garter, and about the same time appointed him Constable of the Tower. He had been in the preceding year summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden.

James, before he entered London, received him into the Privy Council; on the twenty-first of July, 1603, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk; and soon after appointed him Lord High Chamberlain. It was this nobleman who, in the execution of one of the duties of that office, discovered in the vault under the House of Peers the materials which had been concealed there for the gunpowder treason; and the detection of that plot, so frequently ascribed to the King's superior acuteness, arose, as is proved by one of the Secretary's letters preserved in Winwood's

## EARL OF SUFFOLK.

Memorials, out of the sagacious inferences drawn by the Earl and Secretary Cecil, from Lord Monteagle's mysterious paper. In 1613 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and in 1615, as he was again in 1617, nominated one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. On the eleventh of July 1614, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of England.

He held that great office scarcely more than four years; for in 1618 he was charged with having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns, deprived of his staff, and committed, together with his Countess, to the Tower. The guilt was chiefly ascribed to the rapacity of that lady, and the Earl was in a great measure acquitted by the public judgment of all but the imprudence of concealing her faults. "The Earl," says Carte, an historian who always took great pains to discover the truth, "was in the general opinion of the world deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanour; but his Countess had rendered herself very odious by extorting money from all persons who had any matters to dispatch at the Treasury; Sir John Bingley, the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, being the chief agent in making her bargains." Wilson, too, a writer never inclined to palliate the faults of James's Court or government, tells us that "the Earl, being a man of a noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, had retained the King's favour if he had taken Sir Edward Coke's counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good; but, his wife's faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Tower." But the negative evidence in the Treasurer's favour afforded by the total silence on the subject of the arch-libeller of that reign, Sir Anthony Welden, who was the bitter enemy in particular too of the favourite Somerset, (the Earl's son-in-law) and all his connections, tend perhaps more to lighten the charge against him than either of the direct apologies above cited.

THOMAS HOWARD,

It is clear indeed, from the tardiness and moderation with which the proceedings against the Earl were carried on, that very little resentment was entertained against him, either by the King or the public. He was removed from his office of Lord Treasurer on the nineteenth of July, 1618, and immediately retired into the country, where he seems to have remained for more than six months. Between the twentieth and thirtieth of March, in the following year, he was several times examined, and obtained leave to go to his seat of Audley End, but without his lady. It was not till the third of August following that a full enquiry was ordered; and he was not publicly accused in the Star Chamber till the twentieth of October. On the thirteenth of November he received his sentence of fine and imprisonment; was committed to the Tower on the twentieth; released, after nine days' confinement; and received by James with kindness in the month of January, 1620. I find in the Harleian Collection, without dates, two original letters, hitherto I believe unpublished, from this nobleman to the King, which throw a strong light on several circumstances of his case. It appears pretty clearly from the first, which was evidently written at an early stage of the enquiry, that he had not till then entertained any expectation of being brought to trial; and this confidence alone affords no mean inference of his innocence.

“GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

“In this grevous tyme of my being barred from your presence, which to me ys the greatest afflyction that can lye upon me, and knowing by my former servyse to you the sweet and pryncely noble dysposition that ys in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgment which the world knowes you have, ys the occasion that I presume at this tyme to lay before your Ma<sup>tie</sup> my most humble sute, which ys that you wolde be pleased to looke upon the case of your poore servaunt, who after so many faythfull desyers of mine to do you servyse, (I do not say that success hath fallen out as I wyshed,) showld now not only have suffered for

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

my weaknes and errours, but must be further questioned, to my dysgrace. I wolde to God your Ma<sup>tie</sup> dyd truly understand the thoughts of my hart; and yf ther you could fynd one, the least, of yll affections to you, I wysht yt pulled out of my body.

“Now, to add to my meseryes, geve me leave to let your Ma<sup>tie</sup> knowe the hard estate I am in; for I do owe at thys present, I dare avow upon my fydelyty to you, lytle less then forty thousand pounds, which I well knowe wyll make me and myne poore and mesarable for ever. All this I do not lay downe to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> best judging eyes that I meane this by way of complaynt; for I do acknowledge the reason your Ma<sup>tie</sup> had to do what you did; neither do I goo about to excuse errours to have escapt me; but wyll now and ever acknowledg your gracious favourable dealing with me, yf you wylbe pleased now to receyve me agayne to your favour, after this just correction; without which I desyer not to injoy fortune of any good, or lyfe in this world; which, in the humblest maner that I can, I begg at your pryncely feete, as

“Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> humblyest

“and loyall seruant and subject,

“T. SUFFOLKE.”

He put in a plea, which indeed is virtually urged in this letter, of inability to pay his fine; and James, as Carte remarks, “perhaps rather to punish a distrust of his clemency, than with any strong suspicion of deceit, commissioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to enquire into his estate.” It has been said, that he had previously conveyed a great part of it to his brother, Sir William Howard, and his son-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury. It is very unlikely that such a transaction should have escaped discovery by the commissioners; and it is certain that if they did discover it, they abused their trust by concealing it; for the King, after having received their report, mitigated the Earl’s fine to seven thousand pounds. A very severe mortification, however, was still reserved for him. The Lord Howard of Walden, his heir, was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and one of his

THOMAS HOWARD,

younger sons held a place in the Prince's household. He was called on by the King to induce them by his influence to relinquish their employments, and on that occasion addressed to his Majesty the following earnest expostulation ; but James had determined to be obeyed : the young men resigned their appointments, and were presently after replaced in them.

“ MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

“ Your pryncely favour in delevering me and my wyfe out of the Tower, must and shall ever be acknowledged by us with all humble thanks ; and now be pleased to geve me leave to be an humble sutor to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, that out of the tender compassion of your pryncely hart, you wylbe pleased to cast your eye upon the meserable estate of your dystressed, afflycted, and owld servant, now brought into feare of recovery of your Ma<sup>te's</sup> favour ; and, so wretched my case ys as the little hope that remayned in me to lyve in your memory was my two sonn's servyse to your gracious self, and the Prynce. Yt is now requyred of me to impose upon them the resygnation of their places, which, wyth all humylytie, I beseech you to geve me leave to say, I wolde sooner use my power over them to wyll them to bury themselves quycke, than by any other way than inforcement to geve up their places of servyse, which onely remayns to me to be either my dying comfort, or my lyving torment. Besydes, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children ; only I have a paternall care of them, which I most humbly beseech your best-judging Ma<sup>tie</sup> respectyvely to way how unhappy I must of necessitye think myselfe yf I showld be the perswader of that mysfortune to my chyldren, that ther chyldren within a few years wolde curse me for, either lyving or dead.

“ Upon all thes just considerations, most gracious Master, geve me leave to turn my cruell and unnaturall part of perswading them to yeld to that for which I should detest myself to my humblyest desyer, upon the knees of my hart to begg humbly of your Ma<sup>tie</sup> that whatsoever favor you have ever had to me for

## EARL OF SUFFOLK.

any servyse done, that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> wylbe pleased to spare the ruyn of these two young men, whom I fynd so honestly dysposed in ther desier of spending ther fortunes and lyves in your Ma<sup>tie's</sup> and your pryncely sonn's servyse, as yf your dyspleasure be not fully satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of Buckyngham to be my mediator to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> in this behalfe, which I assure myself he wyl nobly performe, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> in obtayning this great begunn favour. To conclude, with my prayer to God that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> may ever fynd the same zeale and love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy that my hart's sole affection dyd, and ever shall, cary unto you; which God knowes was and ys more to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> then to my wyfe and chyl dren, and all other worldly things; which God measure to me acording unto the truth, as

“Your Ma<sup>tie's</sup> humble subject and servaunt,

“T. SUFFOLKE.”

He was said to lean to what was called the Spanish faction, a charge indeed which was laid indiscriminately against almost all James's ministers and courtiers. Here too the scandalous Welden, whose natural malignity gives to his very forbearance the character of praise, seems inclined to spare him, and to condemn the conduct of the Countess. “The constable of Castile,” says he, “so plied his master's business, in which he spared no cost, that he procured a peace so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it, and all Christendom, have since both seen and felt the lamentable effect thereof. There was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk; who shared in her Lord's interest; being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had in being mistress to the little great secretary (Cecil) the sole manager of state affairs; so it may be said she was a double

sharer; and in truth, Audley End, that great and famous structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold." Welden, when he uttered this last malicious assertion, well knew that the Earl derived his means of building that palace, once the glory of the county of Essex, and still, in its present state of curtailment, a magnificent mansion, from the sale of estates in the north of England, then annually let for ten thousand pounds. The building of Audley End is said to have cost one hundred and ninety thousand.

The Earl of Suffolk died at his house at Charing Cross, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1626, and was buried at Walden, in Essex. His character has been but imperfectly handed down to us; his enemies have found little to censure in his conduct; and his friends have forbore to descant on his merits, probably in the fear of provoking those invectives which may be always so easily cast on the memory of a fallen statesman. His genius and his temper seem to have been such as to qualify him rather for warlike than political service, and he was a great favourite with military men. The author of the "Honorable Voyage to Cadiz," published in Hackluyt's collection, says "the Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Howard's exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisdom, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet curtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weaknes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever had any maner of dealing with him." He was singularly unfortunate in his wife, and in two of his children; for they were not only culprits of different casts, but their faults were such as made it necessary to expose them by public investigation; and these domestic calamities fell the heavier on him, because he was a most kind father and husband, and because perhaps they might be traced to a monstrous and perverted effect of his own indulgence.

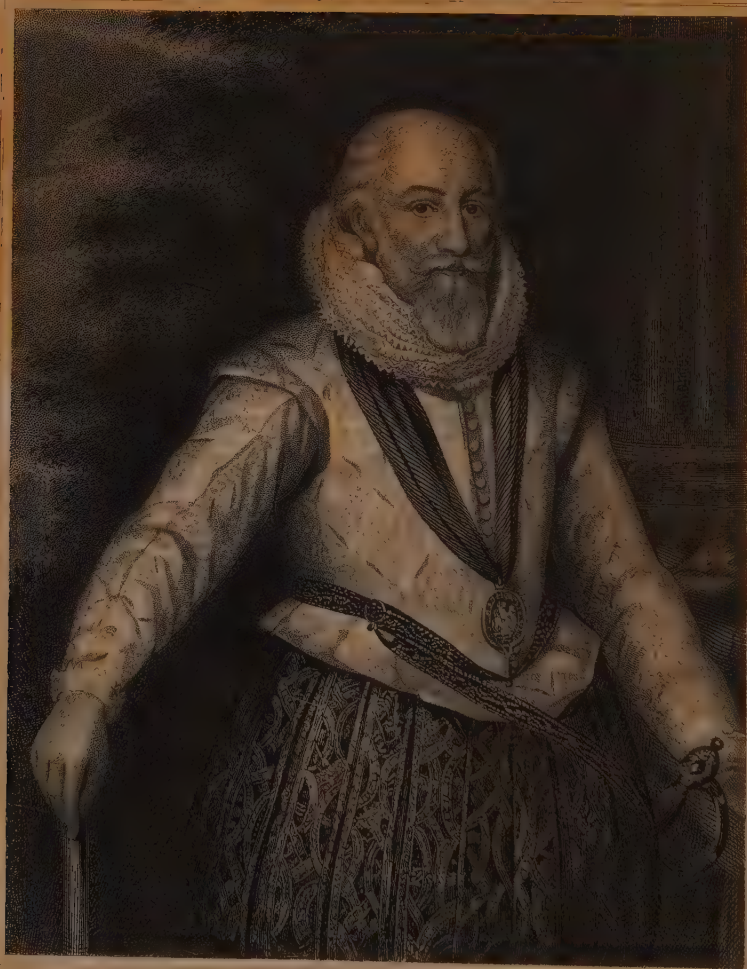
He was twice married, but by his first lady, Mary, daughter and coheir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, he had no children. His second Countess, of whom so much has been said,

## EARL OF SUFFOLK.

was Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time. By her he had a numerous issue ; of whom, Theophilus, his heir, who had been, during his father's life, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden, succeeded to the Earldom. Thomas, the second son, inherited the estates of his mother's family in Wiltshire ; was created in 1621 Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover, and in 1653, when attending Charles the Second in his exile, Earl of Berkshire. From this nobleman all the Earls of Suffolk, &c. since the extinction in 1745 of the male issue of Earl Theophilus, have been descended. The third son, Henry, inherited under the will of his great uncle, Henry, Earl of Northampton, a considerable part of that nobleman's large property, and acquired by marriage the estates of the ancient family of Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire. The fourth, fifth, and sixth sons, were Charles, Robert, and William, the two latter of whom were Knights of the Bath ; John, the seventh, died young ; and Edward, the eighth, and youngest, who was also a Knight of the Bath, was created by Charles the First, Baron Howard of Escrick, in Yorkshire ; a lordship which came from his mother, as heir to her uncle, Thomas, Lord Knevet of Escrick, and which became extinct in his grandson. The Earl of Suffolk's daughters were Elizabeth, wife, first to William Knollys, Earl of Banbury, and afterwards to Lord Vaux, from which marriages arose the long agitated question as to the legitimacy of her reputed issue by the first husband : Frances, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and subsequent marriage to Carr, Earl of Somerset, disfigure the history of the reign in which they occurred ; and Catherine, married to William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.







Engraved by H. Robinson

EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER.

OB. 1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERulam.





## EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER,

Was the representative, through a double illegitimacy too splendid to reflect disgrace, of the great House of Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt. So little has been said of him by our historians and biographers, that were it not for the intelligence communicated by his own original letters, many of which I published some years since, we should be at a loss to form any just judgment of his character. We learn from those faithful records that he possessed not only a powerful and richly cultivated understanding, decorated by infinite politeness, but a familiar and easy nature, and a vivacity of temper, at once too frank and too delicate for the imperfect taste of the Court in which he flourished. With this sanguine disposition, however, and in the possession of those almost unlimited powers of self gratification which exalted rank and great wealth at that time conferred, his moral conduct was without reproach; and we need no better evidence of the innocence of one who stood so fair a mark for envy, than the silence of detraction.

He was the only son of William, third Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Christian, daughter to Edward, first Lord North. The date of his birth has been variously reported. The inquisition taken on his father's death, in 1589, declares him to have been at that time of the age of thirty-six and upwards, meaning, as it may be presumed, that he was then in his thirty-seventh year: but this is contradicted by the statement on his tomb of

EDWARD SOMERSET,

his age at the time of his death. If we are to rely on the first of those authorities, he was born in 1553 : if on the latter, in 1544. He came into public life later than common, owing probably to the unusually protracted term of his father's existence, who reached the age of ninety-seven ; but he entered it perfectly accomplished. "In his youth," says Sir Robert Naunton, "part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times." Elizabeth, who never undervalued such qualifications, had however been prepossessed in his favour by one of her strongest affections—he was of her consanguinity ; for his ancestor Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, was brother to the maternal grandfather of Henry the Seventh. On the other hand his religious faith exposed him to contrary prejudices, for he was a steady Roman Catholic. "Although," again says Naunton, "there might appear something in his House which might avert her grace (though not to speak of my Lord himself but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety, or suspicion, in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this noble Lord : " and Lloyd, with an agreeable quaintness, tells us that, "his mistress excused his faith, which was Popish, and honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman ; " and adds that "it was her usual speech that my Lord of Worcester had reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject." She called him to her Privy Council ; sent him in 1591 Ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the King on his marriage with Anne of Denmark ; and in 1601 appointed him Master of the Horse.

James continued him in that dignified office ; and it is highly probable that he would have appeared publicly in the envied and unstable character of favourite, but for his own prudent forbearance. To a judgment in public affairs not less sober than acute, he joined the strictest integrity and the closest application ; but, above all, he alone, in the whole circle of that Prince's servants, either in the Cabinet, or the Court, seems to have pos-

## EARL OF WORCESTER.

sessed equally the means and the inclination of administering to the comforts of his master. He not only led the chase with vigour, graced and animated the ball by his elegance and activity, and enlivened the King's more private parties by the good sense and good humour of his conversation, but he appears to have managed during James's long and frequent intervals of absence from his capital the most part of that Prince's confidential correspondence with his ministers. To support and illustrate the view which I have here ventured to take of many features of his character, I will insert two of his letters; the first, to the Privy Council, in the grave spirit of ministerial communication; the second, to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, written with the unreserved familiarity of private friendship, and the lively and careless jocoseness of an accomplished courtier.

“ It may please your LL. to be advertesed, your letters to mee directed, signifying the great comfort youe have taken in that w<sup>ch</sup> I wrote of his Ma'. gracious acceptation of your payns in his service during the tyme of his absence, I thought best to present to his Ma'. owne vewe; the rather bycause I could not by my speeche take upon mee to express so lively as your own style dothe represent, the hartines and zeale wherew<sup>th</sup> youe signifie your inward contentment: and if I thought myself not able to expresse your conceyts to him, much lesse am I to retorne his to youe w<sup>th</sup> ayny language that may sufficiently represent a true image of his noble and princely hert towards youe in the gracious construction he maks of all your proceedings. May it therefore suffice your LL. the rather that yt pleasethe his Ma. to affirm that he accownts a great part of his hapyness to consist in your loyaltees, wysdoms, and paynfull service, wherein he would willingly beare his part, and by his presence amongst youe make his own and your comfort the greater, yf his healthe did not necessarily requier thes recreations; w<sup>ch</sup>, notwithstanding, he wyll readyly leave, whensoever any advertesment from your LL. shall signify that there is cawse.

EDWARD SOMERSET,

In the mean tyme, as he easethe himselfe in your travayles, so dothe hee wyshe youe to take an assured comfort in his gracious acceptance of them.

And now, my honourable LL. geve me leave not onely w<sup>th</sup> comfort to take notice of your honorable acceptance of my poor endeavors, but w<sup>th</sup> humble thanks to acknowledge the increase of my bond of duty and affection towards youe. Notwithstanding I knowe the have been accompanied w<sup>th</sup> many errors, and more imperfections, yet suche are your honorable dispositions as not onely to conceale and shaddow them, but to make a favorable interpretation of that w<sup>ch</sup> many ways deserved reprehension ; but my zeal to his Ma'. service, and dutiful endeavors to gyve your LL. satisfaction, shall plead for a qualification of the veniall faults of,

Your LL.' humbly to command,

*Thetforde, the 1 of Marche, 1604.*

E. WORCESTER."

"I have lately receyved 2 letters from your good Lo. wherein youe have not onely requited my former w<sup>th</sup> kind thankfulness, but satisfied in number of lynes to the full, so y<sup>t</sup> there is lytell expectation that youe will bee in my dett. Truly whensoever I wrote youe a short letter yt was eyther for want of matter, or hastye opportunitye of the messenger, which being lothe to lett pass, chose rather to wryght a littell then nothing at all. Agayn, mayny times wee may have newes of some accy-  
dent or other, and before I shall understand of a conveyent messenger my news wylbee stale, and then I omytt it. Lastly, urgent busynes of my own (being subject to howlerly attendance, as youe knowe) cawsethe me often, though unwyllingly, to neglect oportunitie ; and so de hac re satis dictū est.

Nowe, my good Lord, to awnswer your last desier ; yt is verye certeyn that his Ma. hath resolved that the Parliament shall begyn the 19 of Marche, and that he will shortly remove to Whithall, but goethe to Royston to hunt, while in the meane space the Queen may remove, and the howsowld, and himself to retorn

## EARL OF WORCESTER.

thether : from thence to the Tower the 12 of March ; the 15 to pass thorowgh London to Whithall, w<sup>th</sup>owt ayny feast at all ; and this is more then certainly cold bee told you, for this day yt was decreed. It is lykewyse resolved that every man shall weare what apparell himself listeth, and we here resolve to ryde uppon footclothes, som of one color, som of another, as they lyke ; but the most that I heare of are of purple velvet imbroidered, as fayr as theyr purse wyll afford meanes. The great Ladys are ap-  
pyoynted to ryde in chariots ; the Baronesses on horsebake, and they that have no sadells from the King must provide of theyr own : the number provided are 20, w<sup>ch</sup> were provided against the coronation, of crimson velvet ; and this is all I can advertes youe for that matter.

Whereas youer Lo. sayethe youe wear never perticularly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6<sup>d</sup> charge w<sup>th</sup> youe to send youe the booke, w<sup>ch</sup> wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddess ; and, for the other, I would lykewyse have sent youe the ballet, yf I cowlde have got yt for money ; but these bookes, as I heare, are all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon me to set that downe w<sup>ch</sup> wyser then my self doe not understand. This day the King dined abroad w<sup>th</sup> the Florentine Imbassadore, who takethe now his leave very shortly ; he was w<sup>th</sup> the King at the play at nyght, and sooped w<sup>th</sup> my Lady Ritche in her chamber. The Frenche Queen, as yt is reported, hathe sent to owr Queen a very fyne present, but not yet delyvered, in regard she was not well thes 2 dayes, and cam not abroad, therfor I cannot advertess the perticulers ; but, as I heare, one part is a cabanet, very cunningly wrowght, and inlayed all over w<sup>th</sup> muske and amber grease, w<sup>ch</sup> makethe a sweet savor ; and in every box a severall present of flowers for head tyring, and juells. She hath lykewyse sent to dyverse councellors fayr presents of juells, & to mayny ladyes : some to those about the King, as S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Earskin, S<sup>r</sup> James Hey, and others. What the meaning is I cannot conceyve as yet, but tyme wyll discover that w<sup>ch</sup> rarenes maketh a wonder.

EDWARD SOMERSET,

Now, having doon w<sup>th</sup> matters of state, I must a little towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bedchamber, and some for neither certeyn, and of this number is onely my La. Arbella, and my wife. My Lady of Bedford howldethe fast to the bedchamber; my Lady Harford would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home: my Lady of Derbee the yonger, the Lady Suffolke, Ritche, Nottingham, Susan, Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Sothewell, for the drawing chamber: all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shutt owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt: but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutche that I thinke envy hathe teyed an invisibl snake abowt most of ther neks to sting one another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 maids; Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper; the sixt is determyned, but not come: God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother. It is confidently reported that my Lady Sothwell shall mary the Master of Orkney, and yt is more then reported that S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Erskins hath married S<sup>r</sup> Edward Noris his rytche wyddow. And so, presenting my service to my honorable Lady, wyshe youe both a happye arryvall at London shortly: in the mean tyme I wyll rest

Youer Lo.' most affectionate true freend,

*Court, 2 of Fe. 1603.*

E. WORCESTER."

In 1604 he was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and was soon after invested with the order of the Garter. He held his post of Master of the Horse till 1615, and on his resignation of it in that year was appointed Lord Privy Seal, of which office he had soon after a new grant, with the enormous salary, considering the high value of money at that time, of fifteen hundred pounds annually. He was now growing old. "When years," writes Sir Robert Naunton, in the

## EARL OF WORCESTER.

conclusion of his short character of this nobleman, “had abated his exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so he was the last liver of all the servants of Queen Elizabeth’s favour; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, and in a peaceable old age; a fate, that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto lights blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by.” He departed at his house in the Strand, Westminster, on the third of March, 1627, and was buried in St. Mary’s Chapel, in Windsor Castle.

The Earl of Worcester married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had eight sons and seven daughters: William, Lord Herbert, who died unmarried in his father’s life-time; Henry, who succeeded to the honours, whom Charles the First, in reward of his unshaken fidelity, created Marquis of Worcester, and from whom the Duke of Beaufort is lineally descended; Thomas, a Knight of the Bath, created in 1626 Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland, and died without male issue; Charles, Francis, and Christopher, who died infants; another Charles, likewise a Knight of the Bath, who married, and left three daughters, his co-heirs; and Edward, a third Knight of the Bath, who also married, but died childless. The daughters were Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Guildford, of Hemsted, in Kent; Catherine, to William Lord Petre; Anne, to Sir Edward Winter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire; Frances, to William, son and heir to William Morgan, of Llanternam in the county of Montgomery; Mary, who died an infant; Blanche, wife of Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour; and a second Catherine, married to Thomas, Lord Windsor.







Engraved by H. T. Ryall.

LUCY HARRINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.





# LUCY HARINGTON,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

THE memory of this remarkable woman resides chiefly in the airy regions of poetry. Her character, through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued merely because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise by those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talents and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Granger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently, as in this instance, trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money; that "they, in return, were as lavish of their incense;" and that, "upon a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus." Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her that "fantastic lady;" charges her with vanity and extravagance; and speaks scornfully of the Earl, her husband, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, on their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is that they could not have cited a single fact in proof of their invectives.

## LUCY HARINGTON

She was the elder of the two daughters of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, by Anne, daughter, and sole heir, of Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Her only surviving brother, the friend and favourite of Henry Prince of Wales, in whom the title became extinct, dying unmarried six months after he had succeeded to it, she became heir, under a settlement made by him on his death-bed, to two-thirds of his great estates. He was probably the youngest, and she the first born, of a very numerous issue; for he had scarcely reached the twenty-second year of his age in 1613, when he died, and she had then been the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, for nearly nineteen years. She was married at Stepney, in Middlesex, on the twelfth of December, 1594, to that nobleman, who, on the third of May, 1627, left her a childless widow, in the uncontrolled possession of immense wealth. Her inclinations, which indeed had never been severely curbed by him, for he was an easy good-tempered man, were now indulged to the utmost. Her great ambition, as it is said, was to establish a character so rare in her day that it had not yet acquired a distinct denomination; the character, as we should now call it, of a woman of taste: but ambition, whose natural aim is at general admiration and respect, seeks them in the rooted prejudices of mankind, and not in the practice of untried novelties. Patronesses to authors were not wanting among the women of rank who were the Countess of Bedford's contemporaries, but their protection was almost exclusively enjoyed by scholars, and devout writers; her's was confined to poets. The management of the garden and the orchard was then no insignificant part of a lady's education, but its great object was the supply of the table, and its utmost refinement consisted in the composition of the winter sweet pot; she added the elegancies of fancy to the uses of horticulture, and may, perhaps with justice, be placed among the first improvers of the English pleasure garden. It may indeed be fairly presumed that she was mistress of both; for Sir William Temple, in his Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, celebrates her for projecting "the

## COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

most perfect figure of a garden" that he had ever seen, at Moor Park, in Surrey, where she once resided; and an Italian, Giacomo Castelvetri, dedicated to her a treatise which may be found in MS. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, intituled "Brieve Racconto di tutte le Radici, di tutte l'Herbe, & di tutti i Frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano." She was well read, at least, in the learned languages, and so were many other ladies of her time, but in her application of that accomplishment she was distinguished from all others. We have the same authority for both those assertions—Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to her as one skilled in ancient medals. Thus she may be said to have invented her occupations and her amusements. It is perhaps therefore that historians and biographers have past her by in silence, and that poets have delighted to celebrate her. Let us hear them on her behalf.

Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days, has the following epistle to her.

### TO THE LADY LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

Though Virtue be the same when low she stands  
In th' humble shadows of obscurity,  
As when she either sweats in martial bands,  
Or sits in court clad with authority,  
Yet, Madam, doth the strictness of her room,  
Greatly detract from her ability :  
For, as inwall'd within a living tomb,  
Her hands and arms of action labour not ;  
Her thoughts, as if abortive from the womb,  
Come never born, though happily begot.  
But where she hath, mounted in open sight,  
An eminent and spacious dwelling got,  
Where she may stir at will, and use her might,  
There she is more herself, and more her own :  
There, in the fair attire of honest dight,  
She sits at ease, and makes her glory known :  
**Applause** attends her hands ; her deeds have grace ;  
Her worth new-born is strait as if full grown.

LUCY HARINGTON,

With such a godly and respected grace  
Doth Virtue look that's set to look from high ;  
And such a fair advantage by her place  
Hath state and greatness to do worthily ;  
And therefore well did your high fortunes meet  
With her that, gracing you, comes grac'd thereby :  
And well was let into a house so sweet,  
So good, so fair, so fair so good a guest,  
Who now remains as blessed in her seat,  
As you are with her residency blest.  
And this fair course of knowledge, whereunto  
Your studies, learned Lady, are addrest,  
Is th' only certain way that you can go  
Unto true glory, to true happiness.  
All passages on earth besides are so  
Incumbered with such vain disturbances,  
As still we lose our rest in seeking it,  
Being deluded with appearances ;  
And no key had you else that was so fit  
T' unlock that prison of your sex as this,  
To let you out of weakness, and admit  
Your powers into the freedom of that bliss  
That sets you there, where you may oversee  
This rolling world, and view it as it is,  
And apprehend how th' outsides do agree  
With th' inward, being of the things we deem,  
And hold in our ill cast accounts to be  
Of highest value, and of best esteem :  
Since all the good we have rests in the mind  
By whose proportions only we redeem  
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do find  
The measure of ourselves, and of our powers ;  
And all that happiness remains confin'd  
Within the kingdom of this breast of our's ;  
Within whose bounds all that we look on flies  
In other jurisdictions, other powers,  
Out of the circuit of our liberties.

All glory, honour, fame, applause, renown,  
Are not belonging to our royalties,  
But t' others wills, wherein th' are only grown :

## COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

But that unless we find us all within,  
We never can without us be our own ;  
Nor call it right our life that we live in,  
But a possession held for others' use,  
That seem to have more interest therein ;  
Which we do so dissever, part, traduce,  
Let out to custom, fashion, and to show  
As we enjoy but only the abuse,  
And have no other deed at all to show.  
How oft are we constrained to appear  
With other countenance than that we owe,  
And be ourselves far off, when we are near !  
How oft are we forc'd on a cloudy heart  
To set a shining face and make it clear,  
Seeming content to put ourselves apart,  
To bear a part of others' weaknesses !  
As if we only were compos'd by art,  
Not nature, and did all our deeds address  
T' opinion, not t' conscience, what is right  
As fram'd b' example not advisedness,  
Into these forms that entertain our sight.  
And though books, Madam, cannot make thy mind,  
(Which we must bring) apt to be set aright,  
Yet do they rectify it in that kind,  
And touch it so as that it turns that way  
Where judgment lies : and though we cannot find  
The certain place of truth, yet do they stay  
And entertain us near about the same,  
And give the soul the best delight that may  
Encheer it most, and most our spirits inflame  
To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends :  
And therefore in a course that best became  
The clearness of your heart, and best commends  
Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way  
That is on earth, that can true glory give,  
By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live.

Among Ben Jonson's Epigrams we find three, the seventy-sixth, the eighty-fourth, and the ninety-fourth, inscribed to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The last was accompanied by a present of Donne's Satires.

LUCY HARINGTON,

76TH.—ON LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

This morning, timely wrapt with holy fire,  
I thought to form unto my zealous muse  
What kind of creature I could most desire  
To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.  
I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,  
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great :  
I meant the day star should not brighter rise,  
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.  
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,  
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride :  
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,  
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.  
Only a learned and a manly soul  
I purpos'd her ; that should with even pow'rs  
The rock, the spindle, and the sheers, controul  
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.  
Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,  
My muse bade Bedford write, and that was she.

---

84TH.—TO LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

Madam, I told you late, how I repented  
I ask'd a Lord a buck, and he denied me :  
And, 'ere I could ask you I was prevented ;  
For your most noble offer had supplied me.  
Straight went I home : and there, most like a poet,  
I fancied to myself what wine, what wit,  
I would have spent : how ev'ry muse should know it,  
And Phœbus self should be at eating it.  
O, Madam, if your grant did thus transfer me,  
Make it your gift : see whither that will bear me.

## COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

94TH.—TO LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are  
Life of the muses' day, their morning star,  
If works (not th' authors' their own grace should look  
Whose poems would not wish to be your book ?  
But these desir'd by you, the makers' ends  
Crown with their own : rare poems ask rare friends.  
Yet satires, since the most of mankind be  
Their unavoided subject, fewest see :  
For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,  
But when they heard it tax'd took more offence.  
They then that, living where the matter's bred,  
Dare for these poems yet but ask, and read,  
And like them too, must needfully, though few,  
Be of the best, and 'mongst those best are you ;  
Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are  
The muses' ev'ning as their morning star.

Dr. Donne, the high character of whose mind, as well as the severe habits of his pen, must place him beyond any possible suspicion of mercenary motives, addressed several of his poems to her, and wrote an elegy on her death. An extract from one of them will suffice to show his opinion of her talents.

TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

---

T' have written there, when you writ, seem'd to me  
Worst of spiritual vices, simony ;  
And not t' have written then seems little less  
Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.  
In this, my doubt I seem'd loath to confess ;  
In that, I seem'd to shun beholdingness.  
But 'tis not so ; nothing, as I am, may  
Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.  
Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,  
By having leave to do so than before.

## LUCY HARRINGTON,

Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shewn,  
May I not yield, not gold, but coal or stone?  
Temples were not demolish'd, though profane;  
Here Peter Jove's, there Paul has Dian's fane:  
So whether my hymns you admit or chuse,  
In me you have hallowed a Pagan Muse,  
And denizen'd a stranger, who, mistaught  
By blamers of the times they marr'd, hath sought  
Virtues in corners, which now bravely do  
Shine in the world's best part, or all in you.  
I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts  
Suffers an ostracism and departs.  
Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go,  
But whither, only knowing you, I know.  
Your, or you virtue two vast uses serves,  
It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.  
There's nothing but your worth, which being true,  
Is known to any other, not to you:  
And you can never know it; to admit  
No knowledge of your worth, is some of it.  
But since to you your praises discords be,  
Stop other ills, to meditate with me.

Oh! to confess we know not what we should  
Is half excuse, we know not what we would.  
Lightness depresseth us, emptiness fills:  
We sweat and faint, yet still go down the hills.  
    new philosophy arrests the sun,  
And bids the passive earth about it run,  
So we have du'd our mind; it hath no ends;  
Only the body's busy, and pretends;  
As dead low earth eclipses and controuls  
The quick high moon, so doth the body souls.  
In none but us are such mix t'engines foun  
As hands of double office; for the ground  
We till with them, and them to heav'n we raise:  
Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,  
Does but one half; that's none: He which said "Plough,  
And look not back," to look up doth allow.  
Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys  
The soil's disease, and into cockle strays.

## COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

Let the mind's thoughts be but translated so  
Into the body, and bastardly they grow.  
What hate could hurt our bodies like our love?  
We, but no foreign tyrants, could remove  
These not engrav'd, but inborn dignities ;  
Caskets of souls, temples and palaces :  
For bodies shall from death redeemed be  
Souls but preserved, not naturally free.  
As men t' our prisons, new souls to us are sent,  
Which learn it there, and come in innocent.

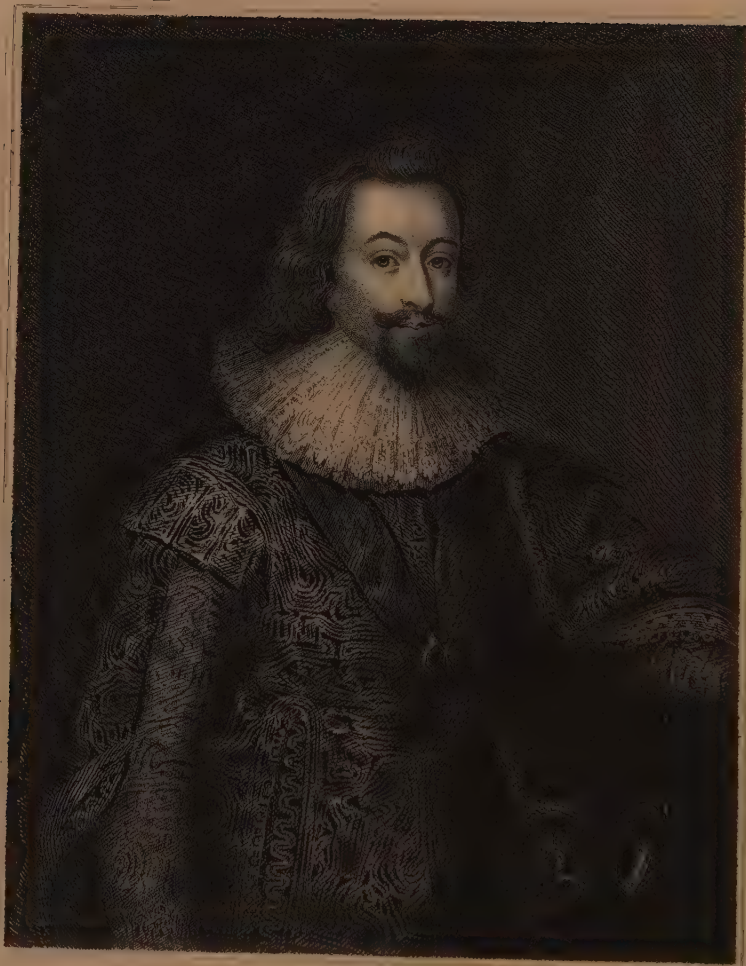
First seeds of every creature are in us.  
What e'er the world hath, bad or precious,  
Man's body can produce. Hence it hath been  
That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes, in man are seen .  
But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,  
That pearl, or gold, or corn, in man did grow ?  
We've added to the world Virginia, and sent  
Two new stars lately to the firmament :  
Why grudge we us, not heaven, the dignity  
T' increase with our's those fair souls' company  
But I must end this letter ; though it do  
Stand on two truths, neither is true to you.  
Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will  
Neither believe her good, nor others' ill.  
Even in your virtues' best paradise  
Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.  
Too many virtues, or too much of one,  
Begets in you unjust suspicion :  
And ignorance of vice makes virtue less ;  
Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.  
But these are riddles ; some aspersion  
Of vice becomes well some complexion.  
Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode  
The bad with bad, a spider with a toad :  
For so, ill thralls not them, but they tame ill,  
And make her do much good against her will.  
But in your commonwealth, or world in you,  
Vice hath no office, or good work to do.  
Take then no vicious purge; but be content  
With cordial virtue, your known nourishment."

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

Even from the grave, which seldom flatters any but its inhabitants, arose her praises. In Twickenham Church, on the monument of her cousin, Bridget, Lady Markham, who died in 1609, we find an epitaph, remarkable enough in other respects, beginning thus—"Brigidæ lectissimæ, piissimæ, innocentissimæ, tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum fassæ quod mater fuit, cætera viri ; quæ generi suo quo Jacob. Harringtoni, Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat. filia fuit itaque inclytæ Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod satis) sed et amicitîâ propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit splendoris," &c.

It would have been strange indeed had the Countess's pen been wholly unemployed, and indeed we find in the foregoing verses more than one allusion to her writings ; but no relic perhaps is now to be discovered of her composition. It is equally extraordinary, and no pains have been spared in the search, that she should seem to have made no will. She is said to have spent immense sums, and it is well known that she sold much of the great inheritance which fell to her share, particularly the fine estate of Burleigh on the Hill, which was purchased of her by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who reared on it a noble mansion which was destroyed during the grand rebellion, but much must still have remained with her. She survived the Earl, her husband, for many years, but the date of her death, and the place of her burial, are unknown. She has left, by a singular fatality, as it should seem, a splendid reputation, which can neither be supported nor depreciated by the evidence of historical facts.





Engraved by J. Cuschan

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

OB. 1628.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF CLARENDON.





# GEORGE VILLIERS,

FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM;

THAT is to say, the first to whom that title was granted since it had been torn by attainder from the blood of Plantagenet, in the superb House of Stafford.

There is so much of historical importance, and so much more of the curiosity of anecdote, in the life of this extraordinary man, that the biographer who may endeavour to treat of it with conciseness will perhaps find it no easy task to satisfy his readers, or indeed himself, by the method either of his selection or his detail. Villiers's unexampled exaltation, and exorbitant power; the extent of his concern in the highest matters of the State; the ardent character of his whole mind; and the remarkable termination of his life; are subjects for the largest canvas, and the boldest pencil; while his secret history as a courtier sinks into the effeminate delicacy of miniature, and requires numberless touches to complete a picture, full of interest in all its individual parts, however deficient in its proportions.

It was reported by those who envied his greatness that he was meanly descended; but the truth is that his family, originally of the county of Nottingham, had been seated for four centuries before his birth among the best gentry, "rather indeed," as Sir Henry Wotton observes, "without obscurity than with any great lustre," at Brokesby, in Leicestershire, where he was born on the twenty-eighth of August, 1592. His father, Sir George Villiers, Knight, having had two sons by a former wife, married, secondly,

GEORGE VILLIERS,

Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, a younger brother of the ancient and still flourishing House of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the same county, and George was the second, or, as some say, the youngest of the three sons of that match. With little hope therefore even of a decent patrimony, he was sent, at ten years old, to a school at Billesden, in the neighbourhood of his parents, where, to use again the singular words of Wotton, "he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died." He was afterwards long instructed at home in dancing, fencing, and all the qualifications of a courtier, in which character it seems to have been rather the wish than the expectation of his parents that he might be some time placed; and then passed three years in France, from whence he returned exact to perfection in every accomplishment which could be bestowed by an education from which all that we are used to call learning seems to have been utterly excluded.

He loitered away yet another year in his mother's house in the country before any plan could be devised for his future life, when meeting with the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, a Scotsman, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Robes to the King, they conceived a mutual affection for each other, and he followed her to London. "The gentlewoman loved him so well," says Welden, "as, could all his friends have made, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks jointure, she had married him presently, in despite of all her friends, and no question would have had him without any jointure at all." It is said, however, probably more truly, that he was dissuaded from the match by Sir James Graham, another minor courtier, who, discerning in him all the qualities which were likely to succeed there, "encouraged him," as Wotton tells us, "to woo fortune in the Court." He attached himself therefore to that gentleman, and accompanied him shortly after in a progress which the King made through the midland counties, and at Apethorpe, in Northamptonshire, James first saw him.

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Among the many follies of that royal paradox, his admiration of an agreeable exterior was perhaps the most remarkable. Homely in his own person, and even vulgar in his manners, he was delighted, almost to fascination, by a fine figure and countenance, and a graceful carriage. Villiers excelled in all, and the constant and precise agreement of the many who have described his sudden advancement leaves us no room to doubt that he owed it solely to those qualifications. The King imparted to Graham, with strict injunctions of secrecy, his intention to bestow on this young man the place of favourite, which indeed at that time was to be found in the establishment of almost every monarch, together, to quote Wotton once more, "with directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour."

James, however, was too impatient to wait the progress of his own arrangement. He commanded that Villiers should be sworn his servant, and gave him the office of Cupbearer; within a few weeks after, on the twenty-third of April, 1615, appointed him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and settled on him an annual pension of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards; and, on the fourth of the following January, made him Master of the Horse, an office, before and since his time, always held by one of the prime nobility, and which the Earl of Worcester then resigned, at the King's instance, to make room for him. Such was the fortune of his first year. On the twenty-third of April, in the second, 1616, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and the next day named Justice of the Forests north of Trent; on the twenty-seventh of August created Baron Whaddon, at which time the King gave him the rich Lordship of that name in the county of Buckingham, and, very shortly after, Viscount Villiers; on the fifth of January, 1617 N.S., Earl, and on the first of the next January, Marquis of Buckingham. In the course of the same month, in the succeeding year, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and immediately after sworn of the Privy Council, and made Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench office,

High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle ; and all this before he had reached the twenty-sixth year of his age. In the mean time dignities and wealth were showered with a most unexampled wantonness and profusion on all his kindred. His mother was created Countess of Buckingham ; one of his two brothers Viscount Purbeck, and the other Earl of Anglesey ; and Sir William Fielding, who had married his only sister, Earl of Denbigh. His brothers and sisters of the half blood were also ennobled or enriched ; and even his most distant relations were provided for by advantageous marriages, or lucrative appointments. The ancient nobility, many of whom had in the beginning lent him their aid, for the sake of raising a rival to the favourite Somerset, now looked on in sullen silence, and the people, who in truth had little concern in the matter, murmured loudly.

Together with his great honours and employments, he possessed a control so unbounded over the King's inclinations, that he became the sole dispenser of all royal favours ; and, by a felicity perhaps not to be paralleled, was held at the same time in the most unlimited affection and confidence by the Heir Apparent. Their characters were in most respects widely dissimilar, but they agreed in a disposition to form strong attachments, and in that perfect frankness of sincerity which alone can maintain them. Charles's regard was therefore reciprocated by Villiers, and as it seems to have been the first real friendship felt by either of them, so it naturally became of the strongest, and most lasting order. Thence originated, among many other public matters perhaps of greater importance, the romantic journey to Spain, projected by Buckingham, with all the impetuosity that distinguished him, and most readily adopted by the Prince, in direct opposition to the King's declared judgment and inclination. Few historical events have been so frequently and so largely detailed. A negotiation had long subsisted for the marriage of Charles to the Infanta of Spain, which these young statesmen resolved to supersede by presenting themselves suddenly and unexpectedly, as private persons, to the most jealous and formal

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Court in Europe. They set out on the eighteenth of February, 1623, under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, with a single attendant, from Buckingham's lately purchased palace of Newhall, in Essex; passed the Thames near Gravesend, where, by idly giving a piece of gold to the boatman, they excited a suspicion that they were persons of rank intending to cross the sea to fight a duel, and in consequence narrowly escaped being stopped at Rochester; were actually detained at Canterbury by the Mayor, to whom the Marquis was obliged to discover himself, taking off his false beard, and alleging, in his character of Lord Admiral, that he was going to take a secret view of the state of a fleet which was then equipping for the North Seas; arrived in the evening at Dover, where they were joined by Sir Francis Cottington, and another, who had been sent to hire a vessel; and, embarking the next morning for Calais, on the twenty-first arrived at Paris, where Charles, standing among ordinary spectators in a balcony in the Court, first saw the beauteous Henrietta Maria, his future Queen.

At length they reached Madrid and threw off their disguises in the house of the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador, who the next day notified to the King the arrival of his illustrious visitor. Charles was received with the most profound respect, and entertained with a long series of feasts and shows in the utmost degree of royal splendour, but permitted scarcely to see the fair object of his chivalrous enterprise. The Spaniards, conceiving naturally enough that he could have been tempted to undertake it only by an extravagant inclination to the match, laboured incessantly to induce him to purchase it by the sacrifice of his religion; and the Pope wrote to him at great length to the same effect, delaying his dispensation till he received Charles's answer, many passages in which gave great offence to the Protestants at home. In the mean time Villiers, who, during his absence, had been created Duke of Buckingham, and Earl of Coventry, quarrelled openly with the Count D'Olivares, then the Prime Minister and favourite of the King of Spain, and with the Earl of Bristol, and left the

Court without the usual formalities, under the pretence of visiting a British fleet then in the Bay of Biscay ; and became suddenly the greatest enemy to the match which he had so lately taken such extraordinary steps to forward. James, vexed by his importunities to break it off, and by the disgust conceived against it in England, as much on the score of the vast expense of the journey as from the usual unpopular opinion of any connexion with Spain, found himself obliged to give way. The Prince, weary of the absence of his confidant, and of the new causes of delay which almost daily arose, determined to return, leaving in the hands of Bristol an instrument by which he bound himself to solemnise the marriage within fifteen days after the arrival of a second dispensation, which the death of Pope Gregory the Fifteenth had rendered necessary. He joined his friend at St. Andero, and they arrived in London on the sixth of October, 1623. An express was despatched the very next day to the Earl of Bristol to suspend all proceedings, and speedily followed by a positive demand of the aid of Spain to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, as a condition for the completion of the nuptials. This was angrily refused ; and thus, chiefly through the rashness and levity of Buckingham, ended a treaty which had subsisted for seven years, and on which the eyes of all Europe had been bent with a peculiar attention and anxiety.

He was, immediately after his return, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court, but his favour with the King was now waning. James, passive as he was, had at length become impatient of rule, or was perhaps terrified at the serious perplexities with which Buckingham's imperiousness had surrounded him. The Duke, at the meeting of a new Parliament, which was called chiefly to consider of that great affair, stated at large, at a conference of the two Houses, the motives of the Prince's journey, and the circumstances which had consequently occurred, ascribing the miscarriage of the treaty to the duplicity of Spain, and to the misconduct of the Earl of Bristol ; and told them, in the conclusion of his harangue, that

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

the King had recalled that nobleman in order to subject him to a public inquiry, when in fact James had sent for him for the purpose of opposing his wisdom and his boldness to the intolerable insolence of Buckingham. Nothing could have mortified the King more effectually. His favourite had not only appealed from his opinion to that of the Parliament, of which James, and with good reason, was already abundantly jealous, but had aimed at, and indeed suddenly acquired, a great degree of popularity with that body. But this was not all. He availed himself instantly of this disposition in the Parliament to ruin the Treasurer Cranfield, who, during his absence in Spain, had repeatedly ventured to expostulate with him on the endless calls for money which had arisen from that expedition, as well as to give his advice independently to the King on important matters of State. Cranfield and Bristol were impeached in the House of Commons, and the former, as may be seen more at large elsewhere in this work, was imprisoned, and enormously fined; but Bristol, a man of a lofty spirit and undoubted integrity, exhibited a counter-charge of high treason against the Duke, and so saved himself from punishment, though not from disgrace. Buckingham's last act of dominion over his absurdly indulgent master presently followed. James was forced by him to declare war against Spain, and died almost immediately after. Some faint rumour was raised that his death was purposely accelerated by a certain plaister applied to his breast by the Duke's direction, but the imputation has been spurned at by all creditable writers. If Buckingham shortened his life, it was by the slow poison of ingratitude.

The accession of Charles not only renewed, but increased, the measure of his favour. It had been expected, and very reasonably, that the Prince, on succeeding to the sovereign rule, would have abridged the extent of his power. The politicians trusted for this to the cool and sober judgment which they knew his Majesty to possess; the courtiers, and other high-spirited men, to his resentment; for Buckingham's insolence to him was notorious,

and it was no secret that he had even lifted his hand against Charles, on some dispute in a game of tennis, to strike him with the racquet: the people, always judging kindly when they are allowed to judge for themselves, conceived that the King had endured him out of a dutiful respect to James's foibles, and would now give him up. All, however, were disappointed. "The new King," says Lord Clarendon, "from the death of the old even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to, him that ever King had showed to any subject: all preferments in Church and State given by him: all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, that he thought fit; and all his enemies and envyers discountenanced as he appointed." The Parliament, however, at least the new House of Commons, showed a very different disposition. They declared against the war with Spain; refused the supplies necessary to maintain it; and grounded their denial on their sense of the Duke's misconduct in that country. Not content with this, they sifted the whole of his public life with the utmost asperity, and not only censured him by several distinct votes, but even carried up remonstrances against him to the Throne. Charles was unhappily prevailed on by him to dissolve that Parliament, as well as the next, which had proceeded against him on the old ground of the Earl of Bristol's impeachment. Plans to raise money, the legality of which was justly doubted, were now instituted, and hence originated that long scene of misery in which the crown and the Parliament, inseparable supports to each other, crumbled into ruins, together with the happiness and the interests of the people.

While these matters were agitated, a treaty, which had been commenced before the late King's death, for the marriage of Charles to Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, was concluded, and Buckingham was sent, in May, 1625, with great pomp to Paris, to escort the Princess to England. Here again, as at Madrid, the turbulence of his passions produced an unhappy public effect. "He had the ambition," as Lord

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Clarendon informs us, “to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of a very sublime quality; and to pursue it with the most importunate addresses, insomuch as when the King (of France) had brought his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, upon the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception, and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger: but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France; and from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and nation.” So deep and lasting a resentment, arising from such a cause, has been perhaps unheard of. The great historian goes on to say that he was ever after unceasingly assiduous in his encouragement of all who were most obnoxious to the King of France, against whom he lost no opportunity of incensing his own Sovereign; and that he took great pains to lessen Charles’s affection to his young and beautiful Queen; and even brought himself, contrary to his nature, to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards her; of which the Earl gives this most remarkable anecdote in proof.—One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shown some disrespect to his mother, he came into her presence with much passion, and after some very uncivil expostulations, told her that she should repent it; to which her Majesty answering with some quickness, he desired her to recollect that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads.

In the gratification of this unreasonable spirit of vengeance he persuaded Charles, within little more than a year after his nuptials, to declare war against France, and took on himself the chief command, both by land and sea. He sailed on the twenty-seventh

of June, 1626, with ten men-of-war, and a multitude of other ships, having on board a land force of seven thousand men, with the view first of relieving the Huguenot town of Rochelle, which, in its dread of offending France past forgiveness, at that time declined his aid. He then attacked the Isle of Rhe, in its neighbourhood, which was strongly fortified ; and after five months spent in ineffectual endeavours, sometimes beaten, sometimes tricked, and always unsuccessful ; and having lost between two and three thousand men, and forty colours ; returned with the reputation of total military incapacity. Charles, however, received him with unabated grace and affection ; but the popular outcry was excessive, and, in a Parliament, which had been lately called, the House of Commons declared him to have been the cause of all the evils and dangers under which the King and the Kingdom suffered. In the mean time a second fleet sailed to the same coast, which was intrusted to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, and which had no better success. A third expedition was presently after undertaken, now at the request of the Rochellers, which the Duke, anxious to retrieve the reputation which he had lately lost in the same service, again resolved to command in person, and in August, 1628, arrived at Portsmouth, to prepare for his embarkation.

On the twenty-third of that month, having just risen, and proceeding to the apartment in which his breakfast was prepared, accompanied by the Duke de Soubise, and several English and French officers, he was stabbed to the heart by an unknown person, at the very moment that the hangings were held up to admit him into the room. He drew out the knife from the wound, and, uttering only the words—"The villain hath killed me,"—was dead in an instant. No one saw the stroke. The French who were near him, and speaking with the usual vehemence and action of their country, were for a moment in some danger, for those who understood not the language suspected that the conversation was angry, and that some one of them was the assassin. Presently, however, a hat was found on the floor, in the lining of which a

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

paper was sewed, containing a few lines of the declaration lately published against the Duke by the House of Commons. There could be no doubt that it belonged to the murderer. All was tumult and confusion. Several ran out of the house to seek him, naturally supposing that he had lost no time in attempting to escape ; when one of them, seeing a man without a hat walking very composedly near the door, exclaimed,—“ Here is the fellow who killed the Duke ;” and all crying out together—“ Which is he ?”—the man answered with the utmost calmness, “ I am he ;” and added, as some have said, recollecting the suspicion which had fallen on the French, “ I am the man who did the deed—let no man suffer who is innocent.” Many rushed on him to kill him, and he endeavoured to meet the thrusts of their swords ; while others, with more presence of mind, protected him. He was at length seized unhurt. He was presently known to be John Felton, a man of good family in Suffolk, and a lieutenant in the army, who had served in the Isle of Rhe, where his captain had been killed ; and it was rumoured that he had entertained a deep resentment against the Duke for having refused to promote him to the command of his company. But when order was sufficiently restored to admit of questioning him with some coolness, and he was asked how, and by whom, he had been instigated, he answered, with the greatest firmness, that no man living could have persuaded him to perpetrate the act, and that he had imparted his intention to no one : that if his hat were sought for, they would find his motives written in it ; that he had used that precaution under the impression that he should have been put to death instantly after he had killed the Duke : and that he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from so great an enemy. The whole kingdom was struck with horror at this dreadful assassination. Even the Duke’s most bitter enemies deplored, or, in decency, affected to deplore it. England could not at that time furnish monsters sufficiently depraved to apologise for a frantic enthusiast who had murdered even a bad minister.

In considering the marvellous power and prosperity which waited on the Duke of Buckingham's career, as well as the manner of its termination, we may regard with diminished scorn the error of more simple ages, which usually ascribed such tides of good fortune, so suddenly and tragically turned, to I know not what bargains with supernatural agents, who were supposed to lease out terms of human felicity, and to deprive their tenants of all at a stipulated moment. Superstition, however, seems to have exhausted itself in recording an uncommon number of ominous facts which were thought to prognosticate his death. Among these, the story of the apparition of his father, Sir George Villiers, too remarkable to be here wholly unnoticed, and too tedious to be recited, has been told by Lord Clarendon with such seriousness of relation, and such circumstantial exactness, that, however lightly we may be inclined to think of it, there can be little doubt that his Lordship gave it full credit.

The great historian has left a character of the Duke, conceived in a spirit of candour so pure, and with such incomparable judgment, and delivered with such a simple grandeur and sweetness of expression, that it is scarcely less painful to be under the necessity of abridging it, than it would be to increase the imperfections of this little memoir by wholly suppressing it. "This great man," says Lord Clarendon, "was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts of a Court, and all the learning which is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who he knew would be always looked upon as the work of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him ; and so desirous to oblige them, that

## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that they were so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would: and it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation; and yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular; and when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, the low method of courts, that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him; and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity that the person found it in his power to receive satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.

“His single misfortune was, which indeed was productive of many greater, that he never made a worthy and noble friendship with a man so near his equal that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions; which was partly the vice of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men, and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and (who) looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise, as obligations to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit that he had not at first (that) which he obtained

GEORGE VILLIERS,

afterwards ; never meeting with the least obstruction, from his setting out till he was as great as he could be : so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him ; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great ; inso-much as he was, throughout his fortune, a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had. Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendant worthy actions, as any man that shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe ; for he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful ; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing ; and though he left a very great estate to his heirs, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two Kings, his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles ; and the one as much above other men as the other was : and he considered it no otherwise than as their's, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of it. If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he is charged (and it is a weed, if a weed, apt to grow in the best soils), it doth not appear that it was his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air ; nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for an healthy man to sit in the sun, in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters."

The private life of the Duke of Buckingham, as indeed Lord Clarendon's character of him might incline us to expect, seems to

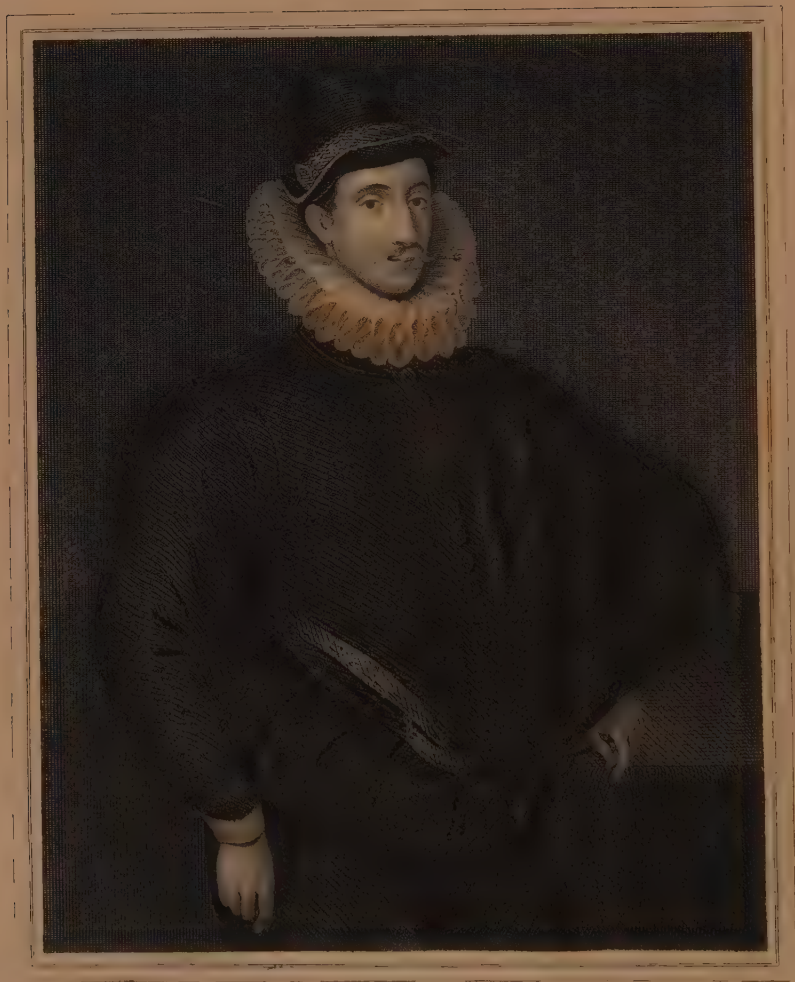
## FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

have been nearly irreproachable. It has been objected against him, and strenuously denied, that his matrimonial infidelities were unbounded. It is however allowed by those who have so censured him that he was a tender and indulgent husband, and that his Duchess was the sole mistress of his heart. He bequeathed to her, for her life, all his mansion-houses, with a fourth part of his lands in jointure, and an absolute power to dispose of the whole of his personal estate. His affection to those of his own blood transported him, as we have seen, beyond all measure of prudence in their gratification. His magnificent and bounteous disposition made him, in spite of the deficiencies of his education, a patron of learning, and of the fine arts; among other proofs of which we find that he purchased at Antwerp a curious library of Arabic manuscripts, to present to the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor; and formed a collection of pictures so superb, that for a very small part of them, which had been bought for him by Rubens, he paid ten thousand pounds. He possessed indeed a single piece, an *Ecce Homo* by Titian, for which the great collector, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had offered him seven thousand.

He married Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland of his family, and afterwards, to the great offence of Charles the First, wife of Randal M'Donnel, Marquis of Antrim. That lady brought him three sons; James, who died an infant; George, his successor, and Francis, who was slain by the rebels in a skirmish at Kingston on Thames, at the head of a troop which he had raised with the secret view of rescuing the King from Carisbrooke Castle. He left also one daughter, Mary, married, first to Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who dying soon after, she took to her second husband James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox. The Duke of Buckingham lies buried on the north side of King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.







Engraved by J. Cochran

FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE .

OB. 1628 .

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> LORD WILLoughBY DE BROKE .





# FULKE GREVILLE,

FIRST LORD BROOKE.

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SIR Fulke Greville, for by that style the subject of this memoir is best known, was one of the chief ornaments of Elizabeth's Court, and stood among the foremost of those who were graced by her smiles. Nature and circumstances seemed to have combined to place him favourably in the view of a Sovereign who was not more distinguished by her keen discernment, and ready approbation of merit, than by her reluctance to encourage it by solid rewards. His character united to most of the talents of a statesman the easy gaiety and refined elegance of a courtier. He was a good scholar; loved polite literature; delighted in composition, in which he employed his pen to a vast extent; and was a liberal patron to men of genius and learning. Not a breath of suspicion seems ever to have fallen either on the honour of his public or private conduct, or on his fidelity to the Crown; and his loyalty to Elizabeth appeared to be tinged by a mixture even of personal friendship. On the other hand, he was born to the inheritance of a large estate, which he sought not to increase; avoided all intrigues, either in Court or State, and lived in harmony with the great in both; was free from envy, and perhaps just sufficiently jealous of those who were occasionally more favoured than himself to soothe the vanity of his mistress, without annoying her by his endeavours to supplant them.

Few private gentlemen could boast a more illustrious descent. His father, Sir Fulke Greville, of an ancient knightly family,

## FULKE GREVILLE,

sprung maternally from the great baronial houses of Beauchamp of Powick, and Willoughby de Brooke; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. He was born in 1554, their only son, and great pains were bestowed on his education, which commenced in a school, then of considerable fame, in the town of Shrewsbury, where he was placed with his relation, the incomparable Philip Sidney, the darling companion of his youth, and the idol of his more mature friendship. He went from thence, at about the age of sixteen, to Oxford; was admitted, it is not known of what House, a gentleman commoner; and, after a short stay in that University, removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge, and, having there concluded his academical studies, passed on the Continent the time usual with youths of his rank, and returned highly accomplished. He was now introduced at Court, and with uncommon advantages, for he was kinsman not only to the highly favoured Sir Henry Sidney, but to the sagacious and useful Walsingham, and those great statesmen had determined to breed him to their own envied and painful profession. The character of his nature, however, frustrated their endeavours. He was at once indolent and active, cautious and enterprising. He longed for distinction, but viewed with disgust the steps that usually lead to ministerial eminence. The earlier part of his life passed therefore without public employment, except in some offices probably of more profit than efficiency, which he held under Sir Henry Sidney, in his presidency of the Marches of Wales; one of which, indeed, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council there, to the reversion of which he succeeded in 1581, is said, almost incredibly, to have produced him in fees the great annual income of two thousand pounds.

His inclination however to stand upon his own merits remained unaltered by these advantages. Sir Philip Sidney, whom he seems to have chosen as his model, was perhaps also his adviser; and who could have refused as a guide him whom it was a glory even faintly to imitate? he projected various schemes of foreign excursion, the accomplishment of which was always prevented

## FIRST LORD BROOKE.

by the Queen's express commands. "How mild soever," says he, in his life of Sir Philip Sidney, which exhibits too the most important parts of his own, "those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady, yet, to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's and the Duke Casimir's, were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparations, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dyer." He goes on to state that having soon after made a visit to Walsingham, who was then Ambassador at Paris, without Elizabeth's permission, she was so highly offended as to forbid him her presence for several months after his return; that she arrested him, together with Sir Philip Sidney, at the moment when they were about to sail with Drake to the West Indies, in 1585; prevented him from attending Leicester, who had given him the command of an hundred horse, to the Low Countries; and, finally, punished him by a second banishment from the Court, for six months, because he had gratified an earnest curiosity to be present for a time with the army of the King of Navarre, during the wars of the League. "By which many warnings," he concludes, "I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Sovereign's hand had planted it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my Sovereign."

He returned therefore to the life of a courtier, and contented himself for the time with such fame as might be derived from shining in tournaments, and at banquets, and enlivening Elizabeth's

FULKE GREVILLE,

select parties by the graces of his manners and conversation. Thus he passed many years, devoting however his frequent intervals of leisure to almost universal study, and to literary composition of characters little less various. It seems to have been his ambition or his delight, or both, to confine in the golden fetters of verse the discussion of subjects which the simplicity and amplitude of prose too frequently fail to treat of with competent clearness. Hence it is, in some measure, that he has incurred the blame of a mysterious, confused, and affected writer, when the censure was rather due to a false taste, or an arrogant judgment, than to any remarkable deficiency, either of intellect or style. His prose is sufficiently intelligible; abundantly figurative, according to the fashion of his time; but, contrary to that fashion, frequently insufferably diffuse. It is evident that he neither thought nor wrote with facility, and it is no injustice to his memory to reckon him among the million whom vanity has added to the list of authors. As a lover of letters, and a patron of literary men, his reputation stands on higher ground. He founded an historical lecture in the University of Cambridge, on an annual stipend of one hundred pounds. Camden, who, without detracting from the worth of Bacon or Herbert, may be called the father of truth and purity of style, in the composition of English history, was eminently favoured by him. "This Sir Fulke Greville," says that writer, enumerating in his *Britannia* the eminent persons of the County of Warwick, "doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet, whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them." The respectable Speed who was rescued by him from that which a customary prejudice has designated the meanest of all mechanical employments, in his topographical work thus owns his obligations. "Sir Fulke Greville's merits to me-wards I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual

## FIRST LORD BROOKE.

trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind ; himself being the procurer of my present estate." Davenant, the Laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Second, was bred in his house, and lived with him till his death ; and a host of poets have mixed with their compliments to his muse their more sincere celebration of his munificence.

To return to the circumstances of his life : it was not till October 1597, that the honour of knighthood was conferred on him, and we find him a few months after stepping out of his usual course of independence, and soliciting for the office of Treasurer of the Wars, which he did not obtain. In 1599, however, he was appointed for life Treasurer for Marine Causes, and is said to have accepted about the same time a commission as Rear Admiral in the fleet which was then equipped to resist a second invasion threatened by the Spaniards ; but Elizabeth, in the concluding year of her reign, did at length bestow on him a lasting mark of her favour, by granting to him the manor, and extensive lands, of Wedgenock, one of the Warwickshire estates, which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Dudleys. He represented that County in most of the Parliaments of her reign ; was an occasional speaker ; and frequently chosen of committees.

James the First, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, in 1603 added to his possessions in his native county a grant of the ancient Castle of Warwick, with its demesne. No boon could have been more to his taste. It was then in so ruinous and neglected a state, that the only habitable part of it was used for the common gaol of the county ; but " he bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds," says Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, " in the repairs thereof ; beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture ; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England can compare with it for stateliness and delight." Here then was a new occupation for the dignified leisure that he loved, and he added to it about this time a design to write a history of the preceding reign, derived

from the only proper sources of history, original state papers, and his own knowledge of facts. This plan, from motives which may readily be conceived, was defeated by the selfish apprehensions of the Secretary Cecil, to whom he applied for the inspection of many documents necessary to his purpose. Greville, who perhaps had foreseen some opposition in that quarter, prefaced his request by observing that he "conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but that to tell all the truth were both justly to wrong and offend not only Princes and States, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness not only of particular men, but of many families;" and has been therefore severely censured by Lord Orford. Without stopping to weigh the respective demerits of historical reservation, whether arising from the meanness of fear, or the insolence of faction, suffice it to say that Cecil at first readily acceded to his motion, but, after some musing, asked him "why he would dream out his time in writing a story, being as likely to rise in this time as any man he knew;" and that, finding he could not be moved from his purpose by artifice, told him that "upon second thoughts, he durst not presume to let the council chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation." And "with this supersedeas," says Sir Fulke, who tells the story at considerable length in his *Life of Sidney*, "I humbly took my leave; at the first sight assuring myself that this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed; and that the many judgments which those embryos of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as, in the end, the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time; not a voluntary homage of duty."

He remained, however, unemployed in public affairs till after Cecil's death, but in 1614 was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Under-Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the duties and labours of those offices were moderate in the infant days of the modern giant finance, so were their profits. It

## FIRST LORD BROOKE.

may be worth observing that the annual emolument of the Chancellor did not amount to forty pounds; nor that of the Under Treasurer to one hundred and eighty. On the ninth of January, 1620, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, in Warwickshire, with remainder to his cousin, Robert Greville, whom he had bred, and adopted as his son, and who will presently be spoken of more at large; and in the following year he resigned his ministerial posts, and accepted that of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber. To his natural carelessness of the most usual objects of ambition was now added the indolence of increasing years. The light labours of his closet, and the polished conversation of the Court, employed the remainder of his life, and he had reached his seventy-fourth year, with little decay of health or spirits, when he was murdered, in his residence of Brooke House in Holborn, by a gentleman domestic, whom he had retained for many years in his service. The assassin, Ralph Heywood, who was alone with him in his bedchamber, stabbed him in the back; rushed instantly into another apartment; and destroyed himself. This horrid act has been commonly, but very improbably, attributed to the omission of Heywood's name in his Lord's will: a fact which it is scarcely possible could have been known, especially by a person of his degree, till after that nobleman's death. On this report however, a tedious speculation on the ingratitude of patrons, and the misery of dependants, cruelly injurious to the memory of Lord Brooke, may be found in a great biographical work of modern date, by no means distinguished for its affection to the aristocratic order. The blow was probably the result of sudden frenzy. The noble sufferer survived a few days, and, dying on the thirtieth of September, 1628, was buried, with much solemnity, in the great church of Warwick, under a monument, which he had some years before erected with the well known inscription, "Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth; Counsellor to King James; and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Trophæum Peccati." Lord Brooke was never married.

FULKE GREVILLE, FIRST LORD BROOKE.

He wrote in prose, "The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney"—"A Letter to an honourable Lady, with advice how to behave herself to a husband of whom she was jealous"—"A Letter on Travel," written for the use of his cousin Greville Verney, then in France;—but a little book, impudently published under his name in 1643, intituled "The five years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England," &c. is undoubtedly spurious, although Lord Orford has unwarily admitted it into his list of Lord Brooke's writings. His poetical works, most of which were published about five years after his death, were "Cælica," a collection of one hundred and nine songs and sonnets, several of great length—"A Treatise of Human Learning," in fifteen stanzas—"An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour," in eighty-six stanzas—"A Treatise of Wars," in sixty-eight stanzas. These four pieces were published in one volume in 1633; but in 1670 appeared "The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed;" extending together to the enormous length of nearly eight hundred stanzas of six lines. He wrote also two tragedies; "Alaham," and "Mustapha," after the model of the ancient drama; an ineffectual attempt to vitiate the theatrical taste of his country, more pardonable in him than in others who have since made it with equal ill fortune. A third has also been imputed to him, intituled "Marcus Tullius Cicero," but it is believed to have been written by another hand.





Engraved by H. Robinson

GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES.

OB. 1629.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERULAM.





# GEORGE CAREW,

EARL OF TOTNES.

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VARIOUS circumstances have combined to obscure the fame of this great and good man, and to exclude his character from that station amidst British worthies to which it is so justly entitled. He was a wise and honest statesman, a most eminent military commander, and an historian not less estimable for the extent and correctness of his views than for a purity and perspicuity of expression of which few other instances are to be found among the authors of his day : but his counsels, and the labours of his pen, as well as of his sword, were chiefly devoted to the affairs of a nation at that time not only wholly unable to appreciate his deserts, but which was regarded by England with a degree of contempt extending its influence, in some sort, even to all who concerned themselves in any way with that unfortunate and uncivilised people. To this fortuitous impediment were added others which arose out of his nature : a dignified pride that scorned the arts by which men too frequently acquire distinction, and a simplicity of mind which, had he been inclined to use them, would perhaps have disqualified him. He was too modest to blazon his fame with his own hand, and he left no successor to his dignities to cherish and maintain the memory of his worth.

More than one error has occurred regarding his descent. It is stated in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors that he was a younger son ; but he was either born his father's heir, or became so by the death of his only brother in 1580, when a very young

## GEORGE CAREW,

man. The ingenious continuator too of that work has founded a doubt as to the peculiar line of the ancient family from which he sprung, on the credit of a long inscription on the back of a portrait, remaining in that of his lady, which derives him from the Carews of Antony, a branch widely distant from his own. There are perhaps few authorities of less value than such inscriptions, the writers and the dates of which are almost always unknown. The fact is that he was the son and heir of a clergyman, George Carew, a cadet of the elder and baronial branch of that once mighty Devonshire family, who was successively Arch-deacon of Totnes, Dean of Bristol, of the King's Chapel, of Christchurch Oxon, of Exeter, and of Windsor, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harvey. He was born in 1557, and at the age of fifteen was admitted a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, then called Broadgate Hall, in Oxford, where he was distinguished by the variety, the rapidity, and the success, of his studies, particularly of historical and legal antiquities, his zeal in the discovery and illustration of which increased with his years, and employed all his hours of leisure.

It is singular that a young man thus disposed should have suddenly adopted the military profession, but there can be little doubt that he was induced to that step by his uncle, James Wingfield, who was then in the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in Ireland : certain it is, however, that he quitted the university without taking a degree, and that we find him soon after serving against the insurgents in the province of Munster. Even so early as 1579, as Camden informs us, he was intrusted with the command, jointly with another, of a garrison town, and sustained, with signal perseverance, a siege which the enemy were at length compelled to relinquish. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed, together with his only brother, Peter Carew, who had accompanied him in this expedition, to the government of a fortress which Camden calls "Asketten Castle," and on the death of Peter, who fell very shortly after in a skirmish not far from Dublin, remained alone in

## EARL OF TOTNES.

that trust. Such was the commencement of a career of military service, pursued, with few interruptions, for more than twenty years, and distinguished equally by prudence and bravery. He rose, through various promotions, to the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland, to which he probably succeeded on the death of his uncle, having previously received the honour of knighthood, and was recalled from that country in 1596, to serve in the same capacity in the two excursions against the Spaniards. In the following year he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1599, returned to Ireland, where he was now appointed President of Munster, Treasurer of the Army, and one of the Lords Justices, which latter office was soon after dissolved by the arrival of Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, in the character of Lord Lieutenant. This was the most critical period of the tedious Irish rebellion, the succeeding termination of which may be ascribed almost wholly to his admirable conduct. "Thus far," says Camden, having recited the simultaneous good services of Montjoy, "did the Lord Deputy proceed the very first year, and Sir George Carew made a progress in Munster equally successful, for he was lately made President of that southern province of Ireland, which was desperately harassed by a rebellion which the titular Earl of Desmond had promoted through every part of it; for, in the first place, he so ordered the matter with the commanders of the hired troops from Connaught, that when the rebels had sent for them he got Dermot O'Connor out of the country by a wile, sent away Redmond O'Burgh, by giving him hopes of retrieving his ancient estate; and despatched Tirrell by alarming him with the apprehension of being murdered unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a suspicion he had before raised among the rebels by sham and counterfeit letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another. After this, he and the Earl of Thomond, his constant and inseparable friend and assistant, marched against them; took the titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the rebels; and either seized on, or took by capitulation, the castles of Loughguire,

GEORGE CAREW,

Crome, Glan," &c. &c. After recounting a long series of gallant and successful exploits performed by officers whom Carew had charged with particular duties, Camden concludes—"to be brief, the President, who had found that province so miserably out of order upon his entrance in April," (1600) "managed things with that conduct, that by December all things were in a quiet posture, and not one single fort stood out against the Queen."

Satisfied with the measure of glory which he had justly acquired, and conceiving his task of duty now fully accomplished, he languished to return to England, and to pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement. To crown his successes, Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond mentioned in the extract from Camden, who was the most powerful leader in that part of the island, had lately fallen again into his hands, and had been, by his advice, brought to a trial for high treason, in order to the forfeiture of his great estates. This done, and it appears to have been done with all due regard to law and justice, Carew spared his life and sent him prisoner to London, together with Florence Maccarty, another eminent chief. At that precise period, he addressed the following letter to Elizabeth; curious in many respects, and particularly as a finished specimen of the courtly composition then in vogue. It is printed in his "*Pacata Hibernia*," a work of which more will presently be said.

"Sacred and most dread Sovereign,

"To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majestie's letter, signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which, although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majestie's service, whiche from my cradle, I thanke God for it, was ingraffed in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appear to bee shorte of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majestie's eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my

#### EARL OF TOTNES.

unfortunate destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection, injurious to none, ever more attends, I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of minde until it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sinnes, upon the knees of my heart I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate and to shorten the same as speedily as may be. Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome, for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune that deprives mee from beholding your Majestie's person, although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle, I thanke God for it, I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraytour, and usurping Earle, whom, for a present, with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may find, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And, now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech that, in your princelie consideration, my exile may ende, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me then I can well endure ; for, as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound, in vassalage to your Majestie, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore in attendance on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto me to dye at your feet ; not doubting but that your Majestie, out of your princelie bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie thereunto then this—' Assai demanda qui ben serve e face.' So, most humblie beseeching your Majestie's pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthie your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your royall feet.

“ From your Majestie's citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.”

## GEORGE CAREW,

Impending circumstances however, unknown to himself, were about to claim his strictest personal attention, and to recal him to the most arduous service. In the spring of that year a secret engagement had been made to the Pope by the King of Spain, to send a powerful force to the succour of the Irish in Munster, and, almost immediately after the date of his letter to the Queen, the rebels, encouraged by the expectation of that aid, again appeared in arms in that province. In the middle of September he suddenly received certain intelligence that the Spanish fleet was then under sail. The Lord Deputy was at that time at Kilkenny, with few attendants, and even without his usual military guard, and it was warmly debated in council whether he should wait there for the assembling of the forces, or return to Dublin. "Some," (to use again the words of Camden, who reports Carew's judgment on that question with an air of peculiar information and accuracy) "thought it best for him to return; and that it was not consistent with the grandeur of a Lord Deputy to go forward with so small a train. The President was very positive in the contrary opinion, viz.—‘that he could neither stay there, nor return, without being taxed as timorous and faint-hearted, as well as hazarding the defection of the whole province; and that niceties and punctilios are to be dispensed with where the safety of a kingdom is at stake. It was requisite therefore that he should advance forward, and use his authority as Lord Deputy against such as were inclinable to revolt, who would not only in all probability remain more fixed to their duty when overawed by the Lord Deputy's presence, who had been so famous for his happy successes, but would most certainly revolt should he turn back.’ The President offering him a guard of two hundred horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnished with all necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of cheerfulness."

On the twenty-third of September the Spanish fleet, which had been prevented by the failing of wind from reaching Cork, entered the harbour of Kinsale, and landed their troops, who were received by the people of the town and neighbourhood with

## EARL OF TOTNES.

open arms. Carew now displayed all the faculties of a great General. With a vigour and coolness by which the warlike operations of that time were little distinguished, he desolated the surrounding country, after having made himself master of all the provisions that it afforded; enlisted, and distributed among the most faithful of his bands, those of the better sort of the neighbouring Irish whose attachment he most doubted; and, having seized a castle garrisoned by the Spaniards, and not less conveniently situated for the defence of the English ships on the coast than for the annoyance of the town, and made the most judicious disposition of his army, commenced the siege of Kinsale with the utmost judgment and resolution. It was obstinately defended till the arrival of Montjoy, with a reinforcement, which, though large, was very inferior to the united army of the Spaniards and Irish, whose main body, however, he attacked with great fury. Carew, who in the beginning of the action had been occupied in preventing with signal dexterity any sally by the garrison, joined the Lord Deputy at the moment when the enemy had fallen into some confusion, and the most complete rout ensued; Kinsale was surrendered under articles of capitulation, by which the whole of the Spanish army, consisting of the remains of six thousand men, also put itself into the hands of the conquerors; and this signal victory may be considered as the death-blow to the Irish rebellion.

The disorders necessarily incident to a country which had so lately been the seat of war yet required his presence for a time, and it was not till the spring of the succeeding year that he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived on the twenty-first of March, three days only before the Queen expired. James received him with the grace and gratitude which he had so largely merited; appointed him Governor of Guernsey; and, on the fourth of June, 1605, advanced him to a Barony, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick. He was in the same year placed in the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, sworn of the Privy Council,

GEORGE CAREW,

and named Ambassador to Paris, in which station he remained with the greatest credit for four years; and immediately after his return was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. After this period he withdrew himself as much as he could from public affairs, and doubtless employed the years which were afterwards spared to him, chiefly in amassing, arranging, and illustrating, that great body of now neglected documents which will presently be briefly mentioned. Charles the First, by whom he was highly esteemed, raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totnes, on the first of February, 1625, O. S. the first year of that Prince's reign. He died at the Savoy, in the Strand, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1629, and is buried, under a superb monument, at Stratford-upon-Avon.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the extent of his compositions and collections are nearly incredible. Bishop Nicolson says that he wrote forty-two volumes, relating to the affairs of Ireland, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and four more of extracts from the Cotton manuscripts. Harris, in his Irish history, tells us that four large volumes, containing "chronologies, letters, muniments, and other materials belonging to Ireland," are in the Bodleian library; and Dugdale states that several others were sold by his executors to Sir Robert Shirley. His printed works are less numerous. He prepared large materials for a history of the reign of Henry the Fifth, which are incorporated into Speed's History of Great Britain; and wrote "A Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry the Fourth, and the principal persons of his court," published by Dr. Birch. He also translated from the old French an historical poem, written in the reign of Richard the Second, a specimen of which may be found in Harris's *Hibernica*. But his principal publication is a History of the Wars in Ireland, especially within the province of Munster, from 1599 to 1602, inclusive, better known by the title of "*Pacata Hibernia*," which was printed in 1633, by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. A question has ridiculously arisen, from a single equivocal expression in the

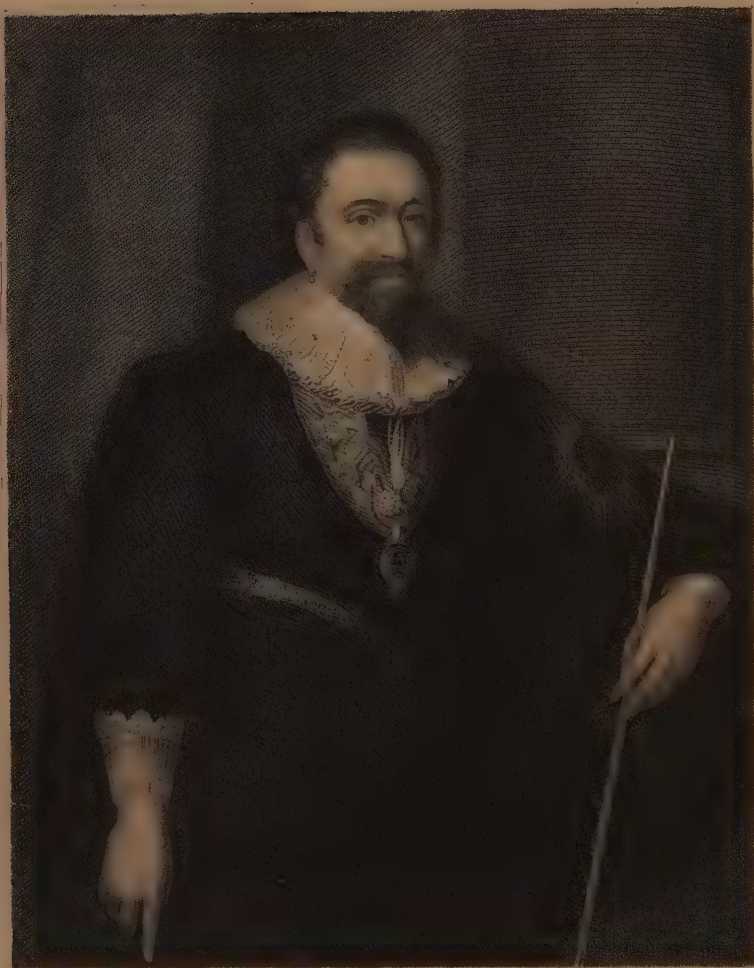
## EARL OF TOTNES.

preface to that work, whether it was composed by himself, or by another from the materials left by him ! while a passage in the same document, the meaning of which can admit of no doubt, clearly points him out as the author in the fullest sense of the word. Granger truly observes, that “ it is written with the unaffected openness and sincerity of a soldier.” He might have added, that it is not less distinguished by the pure simplicity of its style, and by the most admirable modesty.

The Earl of Totnes married Anne, daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, by whom he acquired great estates, which, on the death of his only son without issue, he, with a noble generosity, empowered her to return to her family. He had by her that son, Peter Carew, mentioned above ; and one daughter, Anne, married first to a Mr. Wilsford, or Wilford, of Kent, and, secondly, to Sir Allen Apsley.







Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBRÖKE.

OB. 1630.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.





# WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

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THIS noble person, who has scarcely ever yet been named but to be praised, is generally called, but perhaps with too strict a genealogical nicety, the third of his family who held that title : it might be not only more liberal, but possibly more correct, to style him the fifth. He was the elder of the two sons of Earl Henry, by his third Countess, the celebrated Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip Sydney ; was born at Wilton, on the eighth of February, 1580 ; and at the age of thirteen went to complete his education at New College, in Oxford, where he remained for about two years. We do not hear that he travelled, and it is probable that he left the university to take up a long residence with his parents, and to submit his ardent spirit to the wholesome strictness of their governance. At a date so late as the nineteenth of April, 1597, Rowland White, the agreeably gossiping correspondent of many of the nobility, but especially of the Sydneys, says, in a letter published in Collins's Collection, to Sir Robert Sydney, "my Lord Harbert hath, with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring." He came accordingly about that time, and we have from the same hand, a chain of small circumstances which sufficiently let us into his history for the two following years, narrated with that delightful freshness of unstudied relation which renders the intelligence of private letters so peculiarly interesting.—He arrives in the summer of 1599, during a sudden levy of troops on the rumour of a Spanish invasion—intreats his father to lend him armour and a steed—is named to

attend the Queen's person, with two hundred horse—lives amidst the musters, and “swaggers it among the men of warre”—becomes a courtier, and is blamed “for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour”—is accounted a melancholy young man—is at length highly favoured by her, and expected “to prove a great man in court”—prepares for masquing and tilting; “my Lord Harbert,” says White, in one of those epistles to Sir Robert, in the autumn of 1600, “resolves this year to show himself a man of arms, and prepares for it; and, because yt is his first tyme of running, yt were good he came in with some excellent devyse;” and, in a following letter, “my Lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich: he leapes; he daunces; he sings; he gives counter-buffes; he makes his horse run with more speede,” &c. We descry in these small notices the dawns of those bright features of character which afterwards distinguished him—an eager and lofty spirit: an indignant disdain of the common arts of a court; a disposition to serious reflection; and a cheerful readiness to cultivate favour which he might honourably acquire. Elizabeth easily discovered the merit which he scorned to force upon her notice, and, had she lived longer, he would, doubtless, have held a prominent station on the page of history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1600-1, he succeeded to his father's dignities, and was among the first Knights of the Garter elected after the accession of James. His qualities, however, were not of that light and pliant order which usually bespoke favour in that Prince's court. He was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1609, but had no office worthy of his rank till 1615, when he succeeded Carre, Earl of Somerset, in that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. He was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wood, who is most likely to be right on that head, informs us that he was unanimously chosen in 1626, but several other writers date his election to the Chancellorship in 1615. About the time that he acquired that dignity, he resigned his appointment of Lord Chamberlain, to enable James to give it to his brother Philip, who afterwards succeeded him in the Earldom, and accepted in lieu of it that of Steward of the Household; and

## EARL OF PEMBROKE.

in 1630 received from Charles the First the offices of Warden and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent, and Warden of the Stanneries. Of all the great men, however, of his time, Lord Pembroke took the least concern in public affairs, for the qualities of his mind and heart were wholly irreconcilable to the character, always weak, frequently base, and too often wicked, of the reigns in which he flourished. What we know of him, we owe therefore to the reverence and affection in which he was held, not as a statesman or a courtier, but for all those excellences which constitute, in the large and original sense of the phrase, a perfect gentleman. His Character, as Lord Orford justly observes, "is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn;" nor can the report of the great historian be ascribed to the political partiality with which he has been sometimes charged, Lord Pembroke having died long before the commencement of the rebellion. That beautiful piece has been of late years more than once republished, but these pages must not therefore be deprived of so useful an ornament.

"William, Earl of Pembroke," says Lord Clarendon, "was the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age, and having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more revered in the country; and as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him; but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly. He lived many years about the court before in it, and never by it, being rather regarded and esteemed by King James than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's house, more for the court's sake than

WILLIAM HERBERT,

his own, and the court appeared with the more lustre because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit, and lived towards the favourites with that decency as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men ; and he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment ; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them ; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them choose another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

“He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it, and his friendships were only with men of those principles ; and as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was placed in a court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air ; yet his memory must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed. He was not without some alloy of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain), he was immoderately given up : but therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty and outward allurements, as with

those advantages of the mind as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune; and some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind began to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgencies."

Anthony Wood, by placing him in other points of view, exhibits to us new graces in a character to which Lord Clarendon had already invited so much respect. "He was," says Wood, "the very picture and viva effigies of nobility; a person truly generous: a singular lover of learning, and the professors thereof, and therefore by the academians elected their Chancellor. His person was rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity. His mind was purely heroic: often stout, but never disloyal; and so vehement an opposer of the Spaniard, that when that match fell under consideration in the latter end of the reign of King James the First, he would sometimes rouse, to the trepidation of that King; yet kept in favour still, for his Majesty knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men, so was in a Privy Counsellor an ornamental duty; and the same true heartedness commended him to King Charles the First. He was not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned; and endowed to admiration with a poetical genie, as by those amorous and not inelegant airs and poems of his composition doth evidently appear; some of which had musical notes set to them by Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Laneare. All that he hath extant were published with this title—'Poems, written by William, Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by Sir Benjamin Rudyard; with other poems written by them, occasionally and apart.'"

The little volume here referred to by Wood made its appearance under singular circumstances. Lord Pembroke, in the chivalrous spirit of earlier days, had elected as the goddess of his chaste idolatry Christian, daughter of Lord Bruce, afterwards the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, and addressed to her numerous

WILLIAM HERBERT,

poetical effusions. These she had carefully preserved, and, when verging on old age, put them into the hands of Dr. Donne, to be prepared by him for the press. Donne dedicated them to herself, and it is difficult at this time to conceive anything more ridiculous than that a widow of sixty should have connived at the publication of so gross an offering to vanity as that with which the dedication concludes—"The church that covers his sacred ashes must submit to time, and at last lie buried with him; but this monument that your Ladyship hath erected to his memory will outlast the calculations of all astrologers; who, though they could foretel the time that he should leave us, could set no date to the fame that he would leave behind him; which though it hath lain asleep in all this noise of drums and trumpets, when all the muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them but a few lame iambics, canting at the corners of our desolate streets, yet they are now contented to be awakened by your Ladyship's command, and under your patronage to come abroad, and meet and salute that place that gave them their first being; and to tell the world that whatever was excellently said to any lady in all these poems was meant of you, and, that the poet himself being inspired by your Ladyship, you only, that are descended from an ancient and royal family, have the right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person." These poems, as might be expected, are, with one or two small exceptions, of the amatory class; but they exhibit powers of mind, and of expression, which could not have been but successfully applied to higher and graver themes, and are graced by an elegance of language, and a correctness of versification, of which his time affords but few examples. His editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—

" Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,	Since, if my complaints seem not to prove
The merits of true passion,	The conquest of thy beauty,
With thinking that he feels no smart	It comes not from defect of love,
Who sues for no compassion ;	But from excess of duty.

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

For, knowing that I sue to serve  
A saint of such perfection  
As all desire, but none deserve,  
A place in her affection,

Silence in love betrays more woe  
Than words though ne'er so witty :  
The beggar that is dumb, you know,  
May challenge double pity.

I rather chuse to want relief  
Than venture the revealing ;  
Where glory recommends the grief,  
Despair destroys the healing.

Then wrong not, dear heart of my heart,  
My true, though secret passion :  
He smarteth most that hides his smart,  
And sues for no compassion."

Or the following ; addressed to a lady weeping.

" Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,  
Which like growing fountains rise,  
To drown their banks ; grief's sullen brooks  
Would better flow from furrow'd looks :  
Thy lovely face was never meant  
To be the seat of discontent.

Then clear those wat'rish stars again,  
That else portend a lasting rain,  
Lest the clouds that settle there  
Prolong my winter all the year,  
And thy example others make  
In love with sorrow for thy sake."

To these specimens, which have been inserted by Mr. Park, in his late edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, I will venture to add two others, from the original. The first, for the varied ingenuity used in the expression of a very common, however false observation.

" Disdain me still, that I may ever love,  
For who his love enjoys can love no more :  
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,  
And ships return'd lie rotting on the shore.  
Then, though thou frown, I'll say thou art most fair ;  
And still I'll love, though still I must despair.  
As heat's to life, so is desire to love ;  
For these once quench'd, both life and love are done.  
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move ;  
Like basest metals do not melt too soon.  
Laugh at my woes, although I ever mourn.  
Love surfeits with reward : his nurse is scorn."

The second, on his lady singing, chiefly for the admirable taste and correctness with which it characterises the melodies of certain birds : and to those who may accuse me of attempting to dignify trifles, let me answer that it is, perhaps, in the treatment

WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

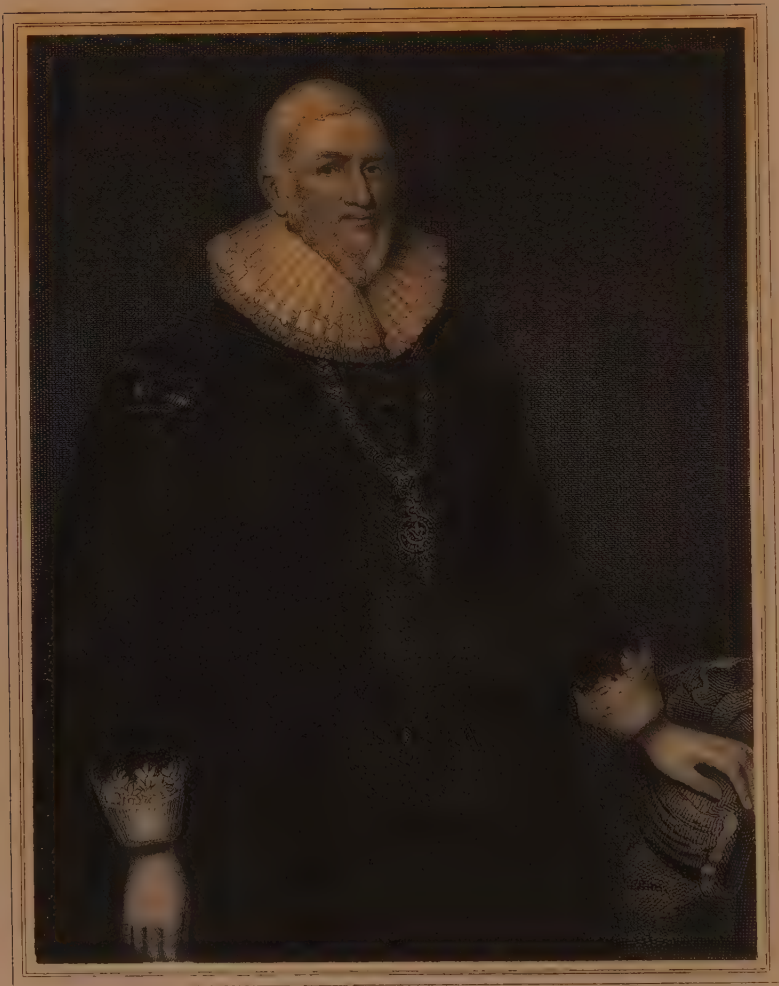
of such trifles that we find the surest indications of expanded genius—of quick and comprehensive observation.

"Shepherd, gentle shepherd, hark,	Nightingales are more confused,
As one that canst call rightest	And descant more at random ;
Birds by their name,	Whose warbling throats,
Both wild and tame,	To hold out notes,
And in their notes delightest.	Their airy tunes abandon.
What voice is this, I prithee mark,	Angels stoop not now a'days ;
With so much music in it ?	Such choristers forsake us :
Too sweet methinks to be a lark,	Though syrens may
Too loud to be a linnet.	Our loves betray,
	And wretched prisoners make us.

Yet they must use some other way  
Than singing, to deprive us  
Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays  
As these would soon revive us."

This nobleman married Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of the Talbots, and had by her two sons ; James, born in 1616, and Henry, in 1621, neither of whom survived infancy. He died suddenly, at Baynard Castle, on the tenth of April, 1630, and was buried in the cathedral of Salisbury. The time of his death, which perhaps I should not have mentioned here but that it may serve to explain a passage in the extract given above from Donne's dedication, is said to have been doubly predicted. "He died," says Wood, "according to the calculation of his nativity, made several years before, by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall ;" and Lord Clarendon relates, with much exactness of circumstance, that, on the evening of the day of his departure, it was observed in a party of his friends who were supping together at an inn on their way to London, that "he had now outlived the day which his tutor, Sandford, had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive." Granger informs us of a lamentable tradition in the family, that when his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, upon the incision being made, he lifted up one of his hands.





Engraved by J. Cochran

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

OB. 1631.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN

GOLDSMITH'S HALL, LONDON.





## SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

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IF superlative public beneficence, and the contrivance and execution of a design worthy of the mind, and requiring nearly the power, of a mighty monarch, may justly claim for a private individual the epithet illustrious, the commemoration of such a person in a work of this nature can need no apology. His history, it is true, is almost wholly confined to that of the stupendous task which he achieved, and indeed in a life devoted to the occupations of a banker in London, and an engineer in the country, we might expect to seek in vain for any of those lively occurrences which animate biography, and excite general interest. The scarcity however of decorative materials could furnish no sufficient excuse for neglecting to raise a monument so justly due, and, though the quarry yield not porphyry or granite, that debt of grateful recollection must be discharged.

Sir Hugh Middleton was the sixth son of Richard Middleton, of the town of Denbigh, by Jane, daughter of Richard Dryhurst, of the same place. His family was of the highest antiquity in Wales, and his father, though a younger brother, seems from some circumstances to have possessed a considerable property, yet, being burthened with a very numerous progeny, nine sons and four daughters, he found it convenient to devote two of the younger, Thomas and Hugh, to commerce, and for that purpose sent them to London, where Hugh became a member of the company of goldsmiths, and exercised that trade. Of his success in it we are not informed, but certain it is that the main source

## SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

of the great wealth of which he became possessed was in his own country. As soon as he had acquired sufficient property in his business to enable him to prosecute hopefully such an undertaking, he obtained from the company of the mines royal the lease of a copper mine, for such only had it been esteemed, in the county of Cardigan, at an annual rent of four hundred pounds. With a natural inclination for such pursuits, and the aid of some experience, for he had busied himself much in the earlier part of his life in searching for coal near his native place, he applied himself so successfully to this new work as to discover a vein of silver, which is said to have yielded, we are not told for how many years, a produce from which he gained the enormous sum of two thousand pounds monthly.

Thus suddenly and greatly enriched, he determined to adopt the celebrated scheme for the better supply of water to London, through the means of that artificial stream so well known by the name of the New River. I say adopt, because it had been long before projected. The corporation of London had obtained an act of parliament so early as the tenth year of Elizabeth, and two others, in the third and fourth of James, authorising them to form an aqueduct from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to that city, but no man, or body of men, had hitherto been found hardy enough to undertake a work the difficulty and hazard of which were little less formidable than the expense. Middleton at length stood forward alone, and on the first of April, 1606, the city assigned to him and his heirs all the powers and privileges conferred by those statutes. Nearly two years were passed in surveying the various waters of the two counties, and in necessary experiments and deliberations, when two springs, the one in the parish of Amwell, in Herts; the other, called Chadwell, near the town of Ware, were chosen; and on the first of February, 1608, the great operation was actually commenced.

The New River is so well known that it would be superfluous to give here any detailed account of it. Suffice it to say that, having united the two streams as near to their respective sources

as the nature of the ground would permit, he led it on its winding course, sometimes in deep channels, cut often with enormous labour through stubborn soils; sometimes raised aloft on arches: building over it (a number since considerably diminished) eight hundred bridges of various dimensions; and seldom employing fewer than six hundred workmen. When it had reached Enfield, his wealth was nearly exhausted. He requested aid from the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city, and, on being basely refused, besought it of the Crown. James, with more caution however than liberality, assented, and agreed, by an indenture under the Great Seal, dated the second of May, 1612, to pay half the expense of the whole, in consideration of an assignment of a moiety of the profits, which Middleton readily executed. He delivered accordingly into the treasury an account of his disbursements, and received from the King, between the years 1612 and 1615, six thousand three hundred and forty-seven pounds, which seems to have been all that was at any time paid under that agreement; though a pamphlet of the day makes the sum nearly eight thousand. The work was now prosecuted with increased alacrity; and on Michaelmas-day, 1613, this marvellous stream, the sinuous course of which extends thirty-nine miles, fell first into the cistern at Islington, now known by the name of the "New River Head."

We are not informed, and it is most difficult to conceive, what obstacles could have prevented the unbounded success of such an undertaking. The whole of London had till now, derived its supply of water from sixteen public conduits, together with partial aids from the Thames, raised by imperfect and awkward machinery: custom however seems to have reconciled the sluggish citizens to the inconvenience, and strenuous endeavours, the motives to which it is not easy to guess, are said to have been made to depreciate, as well by ridicule as argument, the advantages promised by the accomplishment of this grand design. It was not till 1619 that the parties chiefly interested in it obtained sufficient encouragement to induce them to apply for a charter

## SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

of incorporation; but on the twenty-first of June in that year, the King granted letters patent to Hugh Middleton; to his brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, an Alderman of London; Sir Henry Montague, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Ralph, son of Hugh Middleton; and twenty-three others; constituting them a public society, by the style of the "Governors and Company of the New River brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." On the twenty-second of October, 1622, James testified his peculiar approbation of the work, and of its author, by conferring on him the title of Baronet.

This empty honour was the sole recompense that poor Middleton ever received. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and is said to have been compelled by his necessities to adopt the business of an ordinary surveyor, a report which the terms of his last will seem completely to invalidate. He had divided his moiety of the property into thirty-six shares, of which he retained thirteen for himself, but so unprosperous were the affairs of the company, that no dividend was made till 1633, and then not to the amount of twelve pounds on each share. The second scarcely exceeded a fourth part of that sum; and, instead of a third, it was becoming necessary to make further disbursements, when Charles the First, on the eighteenth of November, 1636, reconveyed, not to Sir Hugh, as we find invariably and most erroneously stated, for he died five years before that date, but probably to his heir, the moiety formerly assigned to the Crown, in consideration of a fee farm rent of five hundred pounds annually, out of the profits of the company. Such are the variations in the value of property of this nature, that a single share has been of late years sold for fifteen thousand pounds.

Sir Hugh Middleton died between the twenty-first of November, 1631, on which day his will is dated, and the twenty-first of the following month when it was proved. He had been twice married: first, to Anne, daughter of a Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, and widow of Richard Edwards, of London, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Olmsted, of Ingatestone,

## SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

in Essex, by whom he had ten sons, and six daughters. The sons were Thomas and Hugh, who died unmarried; William, who inherited his father's title; James, Henry, Robert, Bartholomew, John, Ralph, and Simon. From these, with the exception of the last, all issue is apparently extinct; but Jabez Middleton, a lineal descendant from Simon, remains, and is, or lately was, a petitioner to that wealthy body which now enjoys the fruit of the exertions of his meritorious and enterprising ancestor, for some small pittance to rescue his old age from the necessity of labour. The daughters of Sir Hugh, were Elizabeth, Jane, another Elizabeth, Anne, Esther, and Mary; of whom we have little information but that the first died in childhood, that the second was married to Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physic, and the fifth to Richard Price. Some few particulars indeed relative to them occur in his will, of which, as it has not hitherto been published, a short abstract shall close this sketch.

He desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Matthew, in London, of which he was some time an inhabitant; bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, all the "chains, rings, jewels, pearls, bracelets, and gold buttons, which she hath in her custody, and useth to wear at festivals; and the deep silver basin, spout pot, maudlin cup, and small bowl." To his son William, one hundred pounds, he having already had his full portion. To his daughter Jane, and her husband, Doctor Chamberlain, ten pounds each. His daughter Esther "having had already one thousand pounds, in part of her portion of nineteen hundred, and the other nine hundred being detained till the articles on the part of the Lady Price are performed which were agreed on in the behalf of her grandson, Richard Price, Esq.," he gives to that Richard, and to the said Esther his wife, ten pounds each, in addition to that nine hundred. To his sons Henry and Simon Middleton four hundred pounds each; and to each of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Middleton, five hundred. To the poor of the parish of Huellan, in which he was born, twenty pounds; the same sum to the town of Denbigh; and five pounds to the parish of Amwell in Herts.

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

To his nephew, Captain Roger Middleton, thirty pounds. To Richard Newell, and Howell Jones, thirty pounds each, "to the end that the former may continue his care in the works of the mines royal, and the latter in the waterworks," where they were then respectively employed. Directs that his shares in the mines royal, in the Principality of Wales, shall be sold. Gives to his wife the "profits of the New River," for her life, but directs that if the produce of the sale of his mine shares should be insufficient for the payment of his debts, such of the New River shares as shall make up the deficiency, not however exceeding four, shall be sold for that purpose. Gives, after the death of his wife, to his sons Henry and Simon, and his daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and their heirs respectively, one share each in the New River; and one share, in trust to ten persons, citizens and goldsmiths, to be divided among the poor of that company, at the rate of twelve pence weekly to each, "especially to such as shall be of his name, kindred, or country." Bequeaths his house at Bush-hills, Edmonton, and the furniture in it, to his wife, for her life, with remainder to his youngest son Simon, and his heirs; and gives her "the keeping and wearing of the great jewel given to him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, after her decease, to such one of his sons as she may think most worthy to wear and enjoy it." To his brother, Robert Bateman, twenty pounds; to Peter Hynde and his wife, twenty pounds; to Mr. William Lewyn, an annuity of twenty pounds; to his nephews, Sir Thomas Middleton and Timothy Middleton, twenty pounds each; and to each of his men servants five pounds. He constitutes his wife sole executrix, and his brother Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, his brother Bateman, and his nephews Roger and Richard Middleton, overseers.





Painted by A. V. van Dyke.

HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1632.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF EGREMONT.





## HENRY PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

WAS the ninth of his ancient house who held that splendid title. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Henry, the eighth Earl, by Catharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was born in 1563. His father had been arrested in 1585, on suspicion, at least, of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, and committed to the Tower of London, where, on the twenty-first of June in that year, he was found shot through the heart, doubtless by his own hand; and the young Earl, on the eighth of the following December, withdrew himself from the peril of suspicion, and indeed gave an earnest of his loyalty, by embarking with Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to serve as a volunteer in the war then subsisting in the Low Countries. Prompted perhaps by the same policy, as well as by a spirit of gallantry and enterprise which certainly belonged to him, he placed himself among the foremost of the young nobility who distinguished themselves in 1588 by hiring and fitting out ships at their own expense to serve with the royal fleet against the Armada. These tokens of fidelity, together with an apparent, and probably sincere, disposition to avoid any concern in political affairs, and to devote his leisure to study, in which he delighted, seem at length to have gained him no small share of the good opinion of Elizabeth. She gave him the Order of the Garter in

## HENRY PERCY,

1593, and in 1599 joined him in commission with other eminent persons, to enforce in the province of York the observance of the statutes ordaining the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, the uniformity of the common prayer, and of divine service in general, the restraint of Popish recusants, and several other regulations touching the government of the Church. It is needless to say that he was a steadfast protestant. He volunteered his sword once more at the celebrated siege of Ostend, in 1601, and had there a private quarrel with the gallant Sir Francis Vere, the angry correspondence subsequently produced by which, interestingly illustrative of the method then used in adjusting what we now call "an affair of honour," is detailed at great length, from an original manuscript, in the supplement, published in 1750, to Collins's Peerage.

Averse as he seems to have been to public business and state intrigue, he had too much ambition to look on in indifference and inactivity while so many of the nobility at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign were pressing forward to pay their court to her successor. He attached himself with peculiar zeal to the cause of James, to whose favour the sufferings of his family for Mary, particularly of his two immediate predecessors, had given him the strongest claim, and who readily opened a secret negotiation with him on the means of securing the inheritance of the Crown. The agent of their intercourse was the Earl's kinsman, Thomas Percy, through whom Northumberland is said to have supplied the King from time to time with money, and even to have engaged to resist by force of arms any opposition which might be offered to his succession. Percy, too, who was a zealous Romanist, undertook, with the Earl's concurrence, to treat for the leaders of that persuasion with James, who, in his eagerness to gain over so powerful a body to his interest, hesitated not to give the clearest assurances of his future favour to them. He admitted Percy to his most familiar intimacy, and instructed him to commission his brother to cultivate to his utmost the good understanding thus commenced with them, which Northumberland

## EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

readily undertook. While these matters were in agitation Elizabeth died, and the Privy Council chose his brother, Sir Charles Percy, to convey the intelligence of that event to James, who in his answer commanded that the Earl should be immediately sworn a member of that body. He met the King on his road to London; was received by him with marked distinction; and was soon after appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, then esteemed an office of considerable dignity in the royal household.

Hitherto all was well, but a frightful reverse of fortune awaited him. James, on his arrival in England, found the protestants so ready to admit his title and himself that he resolved, with a scandalous facility, not only to break the verbal engagements for indulgence and toleration which he had so lately made to the Papists, but even in a manner to sacrifice them to his new friends, by enforcing the penal statutes against recusants; and the Earl of Northumberland, little to his credit, condescended to suffer his name to stand in the commission issued to certain Lords of the Council for that purpose. The rage of the disappointed Catholics at this treachery may easily be conceived. Some share of it fell on Northumberland, but its chief object was their chosen and peculiar agent, Thomas Percy, whom they conceived to have deliberately betrayed them from the beginning, and the bitterness of their unremitting reproaches, operating on a temper at once furious and melancholy, is said to have led this unhappy man to join in the contrivance of that stupendously monstrous scheme of revenge, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605.

Percy, as is well known, died fighting against those who were sent to capture him and the other conspirators, and the Earl was immediately commanded to keep his house, and presently after committed to the custody of Archbishop Bancroft, from which, on the twenty-seventh of November, he was removed to the Tower. The annals of tyranny and injustice scarcely furnish a parallel to the iniquitous prosecution, and severe sentence, that followed. Exactly seven months after, he was arraigned in the Star-

## HENRY PERCY,

chamber on the following charges—That he had endeavoured to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure them toleration, (which, as we have seen, was not only with James's privity, but at his express request)—that he had admitted Percy into the King's Band of Pensioners without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant—that he had written after the discovery of the plot to his agents in Yorkshire, to prevent Percy, whom he supposed had fled thither, from taking up any of his money, without giving them any order for apprehending the said Percy—that he had presumed to write and send letters, without the permission of the King or Council, during his imprisonment—and that he had given to Percy a watch-word, and intelligence, for his escape. It may be certainly inferred from the tenor of a large collection of subsequent petitions and letters from this unfortunate nobleman to James and his ministers, which are also preserved in Collins's Supplement, not only that of these despicable articles scarcely any were proved, but that he was in fact altogether blameless: yet he was adjudged to be removed from the Privy Council, from his post of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and from his provincial Lieutenancies; disabled from holding in future any public office; fined in the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for his life.

There is good reason to suspect that Northumberland owed this horrible sentence to the jealousy and malice of Cecil, operating on the timid temper of the King. In his negotiations with James, before the death of Elizabeth, he not only became necessarily a competitor with that minister, the activity of whose intrigues at that time with the Scottish King is well known, but made Raleigh and Cobham, between whom and Cecil an entire hatred subsisted, his coadjutors. In a curious little volume of "The secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James the Sixth, King of Scotland," published at Edinburgh, about fifty years since, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, we have abundant proof of the pains taken by Cecil's party to bias that Prince's

## EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

opinion against these eminent persons, whom Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, Cecil's prime agent to that effect, and writer of most of those letters, denominates in one of them "that diabolical triplicity." James, therefore, in spite of decent appearances, probably ascended the throne with as strong prejudices towards Northumberland as it is well known he entertained against the other two, and through a dexterous use of this disposition, thus artfully infused into the King's mind, Northumberland was now sacrificed to a bare suspicion of some knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason with the same facility as Raleigh and Cobham had been two years before to the mysterious plot in favour of Arabella Stuart. This however is no place for lengthened conjecture, or enlarged disquisition. The Earl was committed accordingly to the Tower, but he contrived to stave off for some years the payment of any part of the fine, when it was at length conceded that it should be abated to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by three thousand annually. He demurred to this proposal, and in 1611 all his estates were seized in the name of the Crown, and leased out till the rents should produce that sum. He resented this rigorous proceeding by a letter to the Earl of Salisbury so affecting and so high spirited, not to mention the evident allusions with which it commences to that minister's rancour against him, that it necessarily demands a place in this memoir.

" My Lord,

" I understand that his Majesty, by your Lordship's advice, for soe the woords of the leases import, hath granted leases to the receivers of severall countys, under the Exchequer seal, of all my lands, for the levying of a fine imposed upon me. Your Lordship's sickness hath been a cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest in one's owne particular to urge a remorse of conscience whereby the spirit of a dying man may be troubled, but rather to forgive under silence: but, since now your Lordship is upon recovery, and that the world confidently affirmeth you are out of danger,

and that my business draws to so nigh a pointe of execution, let me put you in mind that this part you had like to have playd must come again to your acting at one tyme or other, for your foote must in the ende touch the grave; and I know no man, be he never so free a libertine, but loves to leave a memory of good deeds rather than of badd, yf there weare nothing else to be regarded.

“The thing itself that is in hande is extraordinary, and not to be paralleld; for, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures, but first much quallified; then installed at easie conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used; or if lett, yett for the benefitt of the owner, and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not but receivers may make what accompts they liste; pay the King at leisure, yett I not quitted of halfe that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfyed; relief by borrowing taken away; my brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself, must starve; for the receivers are by their leases to accompt but once in the yeare, for which service of gathering they have their reward 2*s.* in the pound, besides gaine in retayning the money in their handes, and commoditys many ways else. In all this provision for them I find not a thought of one penny, either for wife, child, or myself; so as their wants nothing but strowing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment; and whether these things should pearce into the hearte of a human man I leave to your Lordship to think of. I lay not downe these miserys, that must fall out of necessity, as amazed, or out of passion, for tyme hath made me very obedient to hard fortunes; but to give your Lordship a feeling of my cause, that hath ever seemed to me to be a patriot for the liberty of our country, and of our nobility, wherein we joyed to have you of our society, and not a producer of new precedents that must first or last fall on you or your’s, or on those which you wish well unto,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

and, generally, on all subjects. The extremity is so unusuall as none hears of it but wonders. For my own part, I hold this principle almost infallible—that where things are acted by wise men contrary to all reason, there may be concluded some misery to be hidden which appeares not, or somewhat desired secretly that will not be asked publickly.

“Perhappes you will say the King commands this to be done. I know the King’s commands in these money matters is oft to give, but seldom to take; and all the world knoweth the nobleness of his disposition, if but reason be sounded in his eares; for the nature of censures in the Starr Chamber are ad terrorem, not ad ruinam. Men are put into King’s hands that they may use mercy, not rigour of sentence: and this hath been your Lordship’s owne conceit of that court, as unwilling to be there farther than duty commanded, where nothing was to be pronounced but lashings and slashings, finings and imprisonings.

“I write not nowe, neither have done anything heretofore, out of willfullness, but merely out of fear how my acts or words might take interpretation; and whether I had cause or no I leave it to the knowledge of God, and the consciences of men: neither could any durance of my carcase, or discontentment of my mind, have stirred me up to deliver this, though but in private, had I not perceived an eminent approach of starving of a poore company of creatures that, for anything I knowe, never wished you harme. And so, with my well wishes for your Lordship’s strength, I rest your Lordship’s poorest allie in England, for the tyme, for I have just nothing, as matters are handled.

“NORTHUMBERLAND.”

“*Feb. 2, 1611.*”

He submitted soon after to the payment of the mitigated fine; the leases were revoked; and before the end of the year 1614 he had discharged the whole of the twenty thousand pounds; but he was suffered yet for many years to linger in confinement. An attachment to literature and science, and a fondness for philoso-

phic society, happily beguiled his hard fate of much of its misery, and withdrew him for long intervals from the bitterness of unavailing regret. He was allowed a free intercourse with his illustrious fellow prisoner, the admirable Raleigh, from whom he was seldom separate. He delighted and excelled in the study of mathematics, and contrived, even under this depression, to maintain unimpaired the patronage which in his better days he had extended to several persons eminently skilled in that branch of learning. Nathaniel Torperley, a clergyman, Robert Hughes, Walter Warner, and Nicholas Hill, men of various literature, but all celebrated mathematicians, were regularly pensioned by him; and to them was added, by Raleigh's recommendation, Thomas Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter to Virginia, and made a survey of that colony. "Harriot, Hughes, and Warner," says Anthony Wood, "were his constant companions in the Tower, where they had a table at his charge, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi." "Thomas Allen also," adds Wood, "an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, was also courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that Count, but by such artists who then lived with, or often retired to him, as Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torperley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world." His zealous attachment to such studies, and perhaps to others more mystical, procured for him the denomination of "Henry the Wizard."

At length on the eighteenth of July, 1621, he was finally set at liberty, at the intercession, as it is said, of one of James's minions, Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, who had married a few years before, against her father's consent, the celebrated Lucy Percy, youngest daughter to the Earl, with whom he now opened the way to a reconciliation, by this act of kindness and duty. Northumberland's health had been injured by his tedious confinement, but the high spirit for which he was remarkable was unabated. His

#### EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

physicians advised him to use the waters of Bath, and he travelled thither through London in his coach drawn by eight horses, as a tacit reproof to the favourite Buckingham, who had of late commenced the vanity of using six. The remainder of his life was passed almost entirely in a dignified retirement at his seat of Petworth, in Sussex, where, notwithstanding his heavy loss, and the derangement of his affairs during his long restraint, he lived in great splendor till his death, on the fifth of November, a day already so fatal to him, in the year 1632. He was buried, with his ancestors, at Petworth.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his family, who brought him four sons ; two Henrys, who died in infancy ; Algernon, his successor ; and Henry, a nobleman of great merit, who was created by King Charles the First, Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died unmarried. They had also two daughters ; Dorothy, wife of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys ; and Lucy, whose marriage has been just now mentioned.







Engraved by W. T. Motz.

GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1633.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERULAM.





# GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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THE life of this Prelate, of all the eminent persons of his time, presents perhaps the most meagre subject to the biographer. His character was of a negative, not to say neutral, cast. He was neither deficient in piety, morality, talents, or learning, but he exercised them only with a decency so cold and sober that it had an air even of selfishness. He was an example calculated for a village, not for a kingdom. In the spiritual concerns of his great office he was obstinate without zeal, and in the temporal haughty without dignity. His understanding, though strong, was of an order too coarse and mechanical to be applied to the niceties of state affairs, and an ungracious temper, together with a rough unbending honesty, rendered him almost a stranger to the Court. It is natural to ask how such a man could have arisen to the highest station within the reach of a subject?—Simply by good fortune.

He was the fourth of the six sons of Maurice Abbot, a cloth-worker, of Guildford, in Surrey, by Alice, daughter of . . . March, of the same town, and was born on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562. That lover of prodigies, the fantastical Aubrey, has recorded a ridiculous story of an omen of his future greatness that occurred to his mother during her pregnancy of him, which Aubrey tells us so much attracted the notice of some persons of quality that they voluntarily undertook the office of sponsors at his baptism. Among these it is said, improbably enough, that

GEORGE ABBOT,

Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, was one: certain however it is, that he acquired by some means the patronage of that nobleman at a very early age. His parents, who we are told were zealous protestants, sent him to receive the rudiments of a learned education in the free school of their own town, and he was removed from thence in 1578 to Oxford, and entered a student at Baliol College, where he was admitted a Bachelor of Arts, and, about the year 1583, into holy orders, and soon after gained considerable reputation as a preacher. Having taken his degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, he was chosen in 1597 Master of University College, and seemed to have been destined solely to an academical life, when, at Buckhurst's recommendation, he was in the spring of 1599 appointed Dean of Winchester. He remained however yet some years at Oxford, and was elected to the office of Vice-chancellor in the year 1600, 1603, and 1605.

The period of his residence in the University produced little to distinguish him, except that he had the honour of being included in the number of Oxford divines to whom in 1604 the translation of the New Testament was entrusted. His quarrel with Laud indeed, which was maintained with disgraceful rancour on both sides during the whole of his life, commenced thus early, and he signalized himself to the fanatical citizens of London by an invective against that fine monument of antiquity, the Cross in Cheapside, for the condemnation of which, as a mass of idolatry, they had appealed to the two Universities. He carried that point, in opposition to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, who was little less odious to him than Laud; and from this active demonstration of the sincerity of that hatred to the Church of Rome which was the constant theme of his public discourses, began to be considered by the Puritans as a champion for the extravagances of their notions of reformation. By the acquisition of this new character, such as it was, and the possession of his deanery, he had probably reached the summit of his expectations and hopes, for in 1608 he lost his friend, the Earl

## ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

of Dorset, then Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of his University, who died suddenly as he sat at the Council table.

To this seeming misfortune he probably owed all his future greatness, since it may be reasonably presumed that while Dorset lived, Abbot would not have abandoned his patronage for that of another. But feeling himself now at large, he readily accepted a proposal made to him by George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, a minister who merited and enjoyed a great share of James's favour, to accompany him in a journey to that country in the same year, 1608. The object of it was to endeavour to reconcile the Scots to an episcopal church, and the moderation, as it was called, of Abbot's conduct in ecclesiastical matters at home, recommended him to the Earl as a hopeful instrument for that purpose. Thus his leaning to puritanism, which might have been fairly expected to impede his promotion, paved the way, as we shall find, to supreme advancement. He condescended to accept the appointment of chaplain to Dunbar; attended him into Scotland; and, by well-timed concessions and persuasions, did much towards procuring that temporary admission of a hierarchy which the Scots at that time rather tolerated than accepted. In addition to this service, he endeavoured while in Scotland to recommend himself to the King's private regard by writing such a treatise on that historical mystery, the Gowry plot, as he conceived would suit the monarch's taste, for which the trial and execution of Sprot, one of the conspirators, which occurred during his stay there, furnished the occasion. He succeeded; and the partiality which the King had already conceived towards him was fixed by Dunbar's report on their return, of the sagacity and indefatigable pains which he had manifested in bringing the affairs of his mission to a fortunate termination.

James received him with the most distinguished approbation, and seemed determined to overwhelm him with favour; accordingly in April, 1609, he was appointed Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; on the twentieth of the following January, within one month after his consecration, translated to the see of London;

and on the ninth of April, 1611, was placed in the throne of Canterbury, vacant by the death of his old antagonist, Bancroft ; and all this, says Lord Clarendon, "before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of any parish church in England ; or Dean," (a singular contradiction to an established fact) "or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church ; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward."

Neither the noble author, however, nor any other who has spoken thus disadvantageously of Abbot, have ventured to question his sincerity, or to arraign his motives. His integrity was undoubted, and the praise was at all events due to him of an independent spirit, which, with the common fate of all natural dispositions, shed its influence as well on the errors as on the rectitude of his conduct. When James referred the remarkable question of the divorce of the Countess of Essex to a court of delegates at the head of which the Primate was placed, he gave it his decided negative, in direct opposition to the will of the Monarch, to whom he stated his reasons. James condescended to argue with him in a letter of considerable length, but Abbot remained inflexible. When the King, in 1618, published his declaration called the Book of Sports, permitting certain pastimes on the Sabbath day, and commanded that it should be read in all churches in the realm, Abbot boldly forbade such publication of it in his diocese. James endured these contradictions with a patience honourable at once to the master and the servant. In the mean time it must be confessed that the Archbishop had been engaged in a negociation signally inconsistent, as well with the character of his nature as with the dignity and gravity of his public station. The King's attachment to Somerset was in the wane. A party, headed by the Queen, had devised a plan for his ruin ; and a principal feature in it was the introduction of a new candidate for James's favour, possessed of those personal graces to the influence of which he so frequently and unaccountably

## ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

submitted. Abbot, who had long enjoyed the confidence of Anne, to this end presented to her the youthful George Villiers, whom she, after some consultation and argument with the Archbishop, the heads of which appear in a letter of his preserved by Rushworth, introduced to her husband. Of the particulars of this transaction however we are but indistinctly informed, doubtless because it was in no small degree disgraceful to all the parties concerned in it.

He interfered little, as has been already observed, in the affairs of the state. He took a very active part, it is true, in the long and warm deliberations of the years 1619 and 1620 on the question of the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia by the Elector Palatine, the King's son-in-law, which he earnestly recommended ; so too he opposed with equal steadiness, at a later date, the Spanish match ; but these deviations into the field of politics arose simply from his hatred to Popery, the interests of which the one was evidently calculated to impair, and the other to advance. Here then he was in the proper exercise of his calling. Amidst these engagements, a singular and unfortunate accident befel him, which embittered considerably the remainder of his days. Being on a visit to the Lord Zouch, at his seat of Bramshill, in Hampshire, and joining what was then called a hunting party, in the park, an arrow which he had aimed at a buck from his cross-bow struck one of the keepers on the arm, and, dividing an artery, the man presently bled to death. However lamentable such a misfortune to any man, particularly to a prelate, Abbot's calamity was aggravated to the last degree by the tedious juridical discussion to which it was thought fit to subject it. To have indicted the Primate of manslaughter in the ordinary way would have been disgraceful to the Church, nor could James safely venture to provoke a retort from the Papists, who had been so bitterly reproached by the reformers for scandalously shielding their priesthood from deserved punishment, by a summary pardon in virtue of his prerogative. He referred the case therefore to a court of singular construction, erected for the purpose by a

special commission, consisting of five Bishops, three Judges of the common, and two of the civil, law. A speedy agreement in such an assembly was hopeless. Five months were passed in cavilling on mere subtilties, and at length the Commissioners, without having arrived at any clear decision on the law of the case, recommended it to the King to grant a special pardon, which passed the Great Seal accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, 1621.

Abbot, who during this inquiry had lived in seclusion in an hospital which he had founded in his native town of Guildford, found it difficult, on returning to the exercise of his functions, to maintain his authority. When the unlucky fact occurred which had occasioned his retirement, it happened, singularly enough, that four divines who had been elected Bishops were not yet consecrated. Laud was one of the number, and, possibly through his persuasion, rather than from the scruples which they professed, they unanimously refused to accept the rite at his hands, alleging that the stain of homicide could not be removed from his spiritual character by the King's pardon. James gave way to their obstinacy, and the new Bishops were consecrated, to the Primate's great mortification, by a congregation of Prelates in the Bishop of London's chapel. The favour and good opinion however of that Prince was never withdrawn from him. Abbot attended his death-bed, and placed the crown on the head of his successor.

Conscious that he had few friends about the person of the young King, to whom he had ever been somewhat distasteful, he now confined his attention and his residence almost entirely to his diocese, where indeed he was most likely to give offence. His doctrines and discipline, if his ecclesiastical government deserved that name, which James, long accustomed to the slovenliness of the kirk, had borne with patience, were intolerable in the sight of his new master; the favourite Buckingham, whom, as has been stated, he introduced to the Court, had, for some cause now unknown, become his enemy; and Laud rose daily in favour and confidence. They determined to wound him in the tenderest

## ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

point, and an opportunity soon presented itself. Dr. Sibthorpe, a country clergyman, whose name the circumstance has preserved from oblivion, took occasion, in an assize sermon preached by him at Northampton in 1627, to promote and justify a loan demanded by the King. It was ordered (by Charles himself, as we are very improbably told) that the sermon should be printed, but when it was presented to the Archbishop for his licence he peremptorily refused it, assigning reasons more offensive than the denial itself. He was immediately directed to retire to one of his houses in the country, and in the autumn of that year the King granted a commission to Laud, and four other Bishops, to exercise the archiepiscopal office, stating mildly enough, that it was issued "because the Archbishop could not at that time in his own person attend those services which were proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction." This suspension was soon removed, for in the following October he attended in Parliament, and paid his respects personally to the King; but new mortifications were preparing for him. About Christmas 1629, Laud composed a set of articles, "containing," to use the words of the preamble, "certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops in his province," which were transmitted to him, under Charles's sign manual; and in 1630 a further affront was offered by giving to another the honour of baptizing the Prince of Wales, to which in fact he had a legal claim in right of his Primacy. These indignities seem at length to have produced the intended effect, since for the short remainder of his life we have no further intelligence of him. He died at his palace of Croydon, on the fourth of August, 1633, and was buried, to use the words of his own especial order in his last will, "in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the town of Guildford," where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

Lord Clarendon tells us that he was "a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect;" speaks contemptuously of his learning, and passes over the powers of his mind in silence. That

wise and virtuous judge of men and manners concludes a comparative view of the characters of this Prelate and his predecessor, Bancroft, of whose method of defence of the established church against sectarian novelties he speaks in the highest terms, with the following passage:—"But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care: and, having himself made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him: and though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections; and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed, that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that University, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England, yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful, churchmen."

## ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Archbishop Abbot wrote, in addition to the small works already mentioned, “An Exposition on the Prophet Jonah,” in sermons preached at St. Mary’s Oxford, printed 1600-1613—Dr. Hill’s Reasons for upholding Papistry unmasked, Oxon. 1604—a Sermon for the Funeral of Thomas Earl of Dorset, 1608—Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, with other tracts on the same subject, London, 1619—A Brief Description of the whole World, 1634, and often since reprinted—A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins—A Treatise of the perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church of England, London, 1624—A History of the Massacre in the Valtoline, printed in Fox’s Acts and Monuments—his Judgement, of bowing at the name of Jesus, Hamburgh, 1632. We are told too that he left, in manuscript, a Narrative of the true Cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court, in 1627.







Engraved by H. Robinson.

RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND.

OB. 1634.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF VERULAM.





# RICHARD WESTON,

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

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THE circumstances of this nobleman's life and character have never yet been collectively presented to our view, nor has the graver, till now, rendered his person familiar to us. He seems to have been one of those who were valued rather for good intentions than for able services, yet he possessed considerable talents, with most of the qualifications of a man of business, and many of a courtier. His faults, which were not abundant, arose from errors of temper, rather than of the head or heart. Distinguished by exemplary fidelity, by a zealous attachment to regal power, and by a sedulous application to the affairs of the State, he filled for some years the highest office in it, without acquiring the public regard and confidence which he appears really to have merited; and died in possession of that great post, little regretted, even by his own dependants, and leaving only a name which history seldom mentions.

His descent, both from father and mother, was from among the most ancient of the English gentry. He was the only child of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, in Essex; Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley, in Bucks, a merchant of London, but of the old house of Cave, of Northamptonshire. He was bred in the Middle Temple to the study of the law, into the practice of which he came with the better grace because his paternal grandfather had risen in it to the station of a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his educa-

tion, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "had been very good, both among books and men." He remained, however, not long in that profession, and probably quitted it on succeeding to the inheritance of his patrimony, when he went abroad, and having for a considerable time applied himself to the observation of the politics and manners of the most eminent Courts in Europe, returned with a determination to seek preferment in the State. "He betook himself," says the same historian, "to the Court, and lived there some years, at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known, and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it." He acquired, however, many friends, but in this tedious attendance, he not only consumed his fortune, which had been considerable, but contracted great debts to many who had pinned their hopes on his prospects, and was on the point of abandoning the Court in despair, when he was sent Ambassador to Prague, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, to endeavour to reconcile the Emperor and the Elector Palatine; and in the following year was entrusted alone to negotiate at Brussels with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers for the restitution of the Palatinate.

He acquitted himself in those missions with a caution and dexterity which procured for him, in addition to the approbation of his own Court, the favourable testimony of the foreign Statesmen with whom he had treated, and his fortune was now fixed. He was soon after his return received into the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and on the twenty-fifth of May, 1624, obtained a commission for the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, during the King's pleasure. Not yet arrived at the height of his preferment, he was now, however, in the zenith of his favour. The exactness and frugality with which he administered the affairs of the revenue were equally acceptable to the Crown and to the people; but the chief theatre of his services was at that time the House of Commons in which, not that it was then the peculiar province of the

minister holding his office, he had the management of all matters which the King had peculiarly at heart. In this function he carried himself at once with such prudence and courteousness, that while he essentially served James, and afterwards Charles, he gained the good opinion of the House ; and had the rare good fortune for a considerable time to enjoy the high esteem at once of the King, the Parliament, and the favourite Buckingham, by whom it was believed that he was first brought into public employment.

His merits and services were nobly rewarded. On the thirteenth of April, 1628, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Weston, of Neyland, in Suffolk ; and on the fifteenth of the following July appointed Lord High Treasurer, Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who had filled that post irreproachably for some years, having been purposely removed, under the pretence that his age and infirmities had disqualified him for it. This mighty elevation, which he owed to Buckingham, presently produced a change in his carriage which became evident to all with whom he had any intercourse, and excited the utmost surprise. The complaisance and condescension for which he had been always remarkable, and to which he was much indebted for his good fortune, suddenly forsook him ; and, by an unaccountable perverseness, he whose proudest hopes had been at length gratified to the utmost now first manifested an inordinate pride and ambition, of which he had never before been even suspected. One of the first fruits of this strange alteration was a growing discord with Buckingham, whose tragical death is said to have prevented his discharge from the high office to which that nobleman had so lately introduced him. "He did indeed," observes Lord Clarendon, "appear on the sudden wonderfully elated ; and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable dependants."

With the King, however, he still enjoyed considerable favour, of which he received the largest proofs. On the ninth of April, 1631, he was elected a Knight of the Garter ; in the succeeding winter had a grant of Chute forest in Hampshire, an estate of great value, to which was joined the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight ; and on the seventeenth of February, 1633, O. S. was created Earl of Portland ; nor could Charles be reasonably blamed for these bounties. It is true, that the most constant feature of Weston's political character was a vehement and sincere attachment to the royal prerogative ; that he had very readily fallen in with the project of governing without Parliaments, to which the violence of the times, as well as the King's habitual notions of state policy, had induced that unhappy Prince to resort ; and had been the chief adviser of the dissolution of the third which sat in this reign, as Buckingham had been of the two former ; but Charles's motives to regard him arose not merely out of selfish prejudices. "Though he was not superior," says Clarendon again, "to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the King, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue ; nor was any man so much his superior as to be able to lessen him in the King's affection by his power : so that he was in a post in which he might have found much ease and delight if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent that he might at the same time have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the King, whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might have been easily improved ; and no man better understood what method was necessary toward that good husbandry than he."

"I know not," adds Lord Clarendon, for so frequently quoting whom no apology can be necessary, "by what frowardness in his

## FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

stars he took more pains in examining and inquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own ; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite that he had no relish of the power he had ; and in that contention he had many rivals who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition, the King himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others than was necessary for the capacity they served in ; which resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship ; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities ; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife, and all his daughters, were declared of the Roman religion ; and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have zeal for it ; and his domestic conversation and dependants, with whom he used entire freedom, were all known Papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest ; and yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession ; for the penal laws, those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose, were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time : nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgences of his office towards them."

These misfortunes, if the consequences of his own errors may properly be so called, produced in him a gradually increasing

irritation of temper, which at length wholly disgusted his few remaining friends. He became to the last degree haughty and disobliging ; and such was the unhappy mixture in his nature of rashness and pusillanimity, that every affront or vexation offered by him was instantly followed by an agonizing dread of the resentment of the offended party. Thus his carriage towards the Queen was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion : receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion ; and, in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. These unhappy singularities at length visibly extended their influence to his conduct in the affairs of the State. His services were beheld with contemptuous indifference, not because either his parts or his fidelity were suspected, but because he had provoked in all sorts of people a habit of general dislike. He had none of that magnanimity which finds consolation in the consciousness of upright intentions : he became careless and negligent, and seems to have been withdrawn from this world just in time to avoid a disgraceful dismissal from office, and perhaps an undeserved impeachment.

He had, however, his eulogists and flatterers. There is in the *Cabala* one of those complimentary epistles with which it was then usual to treat the great at the commencement of a new year, addressed to him by Sir Henry Wotton ; and exhibiting a picture of his character, in which, however highly coloured, there could not but have been some truth in the representation of every feature. It contains several notices of him which are nowhere else to be found, and is altogether too curious a piece to allow of abridgment. What must have been the degree of the Treasurer's unpopularity when Wotton could not in decency avoid alluding to it, as he does, towards the conclusion of such an address ?

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

“My most honoured Lord,

“I most humbly present, though by some infirmities a little too late, a straying new year’s gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the choicest materials. In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent and unmalignant men, which to portrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real; and I wish that it could have come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like Plato’s definition of felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea.

“They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgement, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art; and that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you, both in title and employment, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then, for his own ends, a military secretary. They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your actions since—That though great exhaustations cannot be cured without sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginning your house was in a manner daily besieged. They note that there hath been many changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge. They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable. In the character of your aspect, a mixture of authority and modesty: in the faculties of

your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together : in the style of your port and train as much dignity, and as great dependency, as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise and outward form : that your table is very abundant, free, and noble, without luxury : that you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court : that you love magnificence and frugality, both together : that you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, and void of compliment : lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet an enemy to frothy formalities.

“ Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, viz. that you had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King’s only sister, for the continual support from hence, than she hath found before : they observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any, of the love, and, which is more, in the estimation, of a King, who hath so signalised his constancy ; besides your additions of strength, or at least of lustre, by the noblest alliances of the land. Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe that between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds.

“ Now, after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you to give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degree of my poor talent and travels, but they say that I am wanting to myself, and, in good faith, my Lord, in saying so they say the truth ; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship’s proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable

## FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of the text, 'Beatus quì attendit ad attenuatum ;' and so I remain, with an humble and willing heart, at your Lordship's command,

HENRY WOTTON."

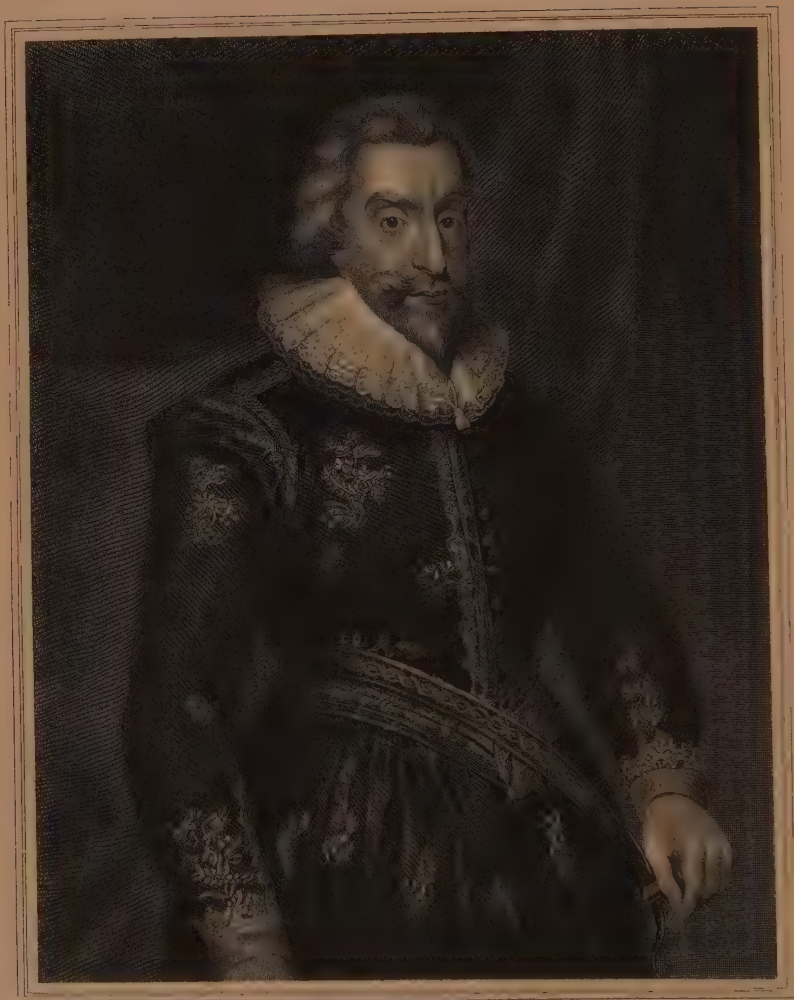
The Earl of Portland died of a gradual decay, the conclusion of which was attended by a complication of the most acute sufferings. Mr. Garrard, the busy and lively intelligencer to Lord Strafford, describes his ailments, in a letter to that nobleman, of the twelfth of March, 1634, with a particularity at once affecting and disgusting. Other circumstances of some interest relative to him are detailed in that letter. The King's regard for him seems to have been undiminished to the last. Charles had given him, says Garrard, twelve thousand pounds since the preceding Christmas ; visited him, when nearly in the last extremity, and remained by his bed-side "till his Majesty could no longer endure to hear him breathe with such difficulty and pain, and so loud ;" and commanded the Court to wear mourning for him. The same authority states that his rental was six thousand six hundred pounds, and his debts twenty-five thousand, and that at the time of his decease he was not possessed of one hundred pounds. Lord Clarendon informs us that "all the honours the King conferred on him could not make him think himself great enough, nor could all the King's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir ; but, after six or eight years, spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater ; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense of delight in so great prosperity, but with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any ; bitterly mentioned by those who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him ; and left a numerous family, which was

## RICHARD WESTON, FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he had left behind him." He died at Wallingford House, in Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, 1634, O. S. and was buried in the cathedral at Winchester.

This nobleman was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchion, of Writtle, in Essex; secondly, to Frances, daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borrley, in the same county. By his first lady he had one son, Richard, who died unmarried, and two daughters; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, son and heir to Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, in Ireland; and Mary, to Walter, Lord Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland: the second brought him three sons, and four daughters; Jerome, who succeeded to his honours, and whose only son, Charles, the third Earl, fell, fighting bravely, when young and unmarried, in one of the great naval actions with the Dutch, in 1665; Thomas, on whom the titles and estates devolved on the death of that young nobleman, and in whom the honours became extinct; Nicholas and Benjamin, who died without male issue. The daughters by the second marriage were Catherine, wife of Richard White of Hutton, in Essex; Frances, of Philip Draycote, of Paynesley, in Staffordshire; Anne, married to Basil, Lord Fielding, son and heir to William Earl of Denbigh; and Mary, who died unmarried.





WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

OB. 1639.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THOMAS BLOUNT ESQ<sup>RS</sup>





## WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

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THE history of an ambassador, especially of one distinguished by his fidelity, presents a theme peculiarly unpropitious to the biographer. Removed to a foreign land; withdrawn, in a great measure, there from the common habits and accidents of society, and moving ever in an assumed form; we lose sight even of the private character of the man, while we seek in vain through public functions, which are frequently scarcely visible, for motives which are always shrouded in impenetrable secrecy. After-ages are, it is true, sometimes gratified by the development of such arcana, but of the ministry of this nobleman we have at present within our reach only a few scattered remains. A great treasure however of his diplomatic papers has lately been discovered in his family mansion, and a zealous and accomplished descendant from him has promised to open it to public view.

Walter Aston, the heir male of a most ancient Staffordshire house—of which Fuller, in his *Worthies*, singularly says, “I have not met with a more noble family, measuring on the level of flat and unadvantaged antiquity”—was the eldest son of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall, in that county, by Anne, only daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, in Warwickshire. He was born on the ninth of July, 1584, at Charlecote, and baptised there. Of the place and method of his education we are uninformed, but he has left abundant proofs that it was of the most perfect of that class usually termed polite. The completion of it he probably owed to the care of the celebrated lawyer, Sir Edward

## WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

Coke, to whom, on his father's death, in 1597, he was given by Elizabeth in wardship, and by whom there can be little doubt that he was first brought to London, and to the Court. He was appointed one of the Knights of the Bath at the coronation of James, and was created a Baronet in 1611, among the first on whom that title was conferred.

The families of Aston and Villiers were neighbours, in the country, and it is by no means unlikely that his intimacy with Buckingham, who appeared at Court soon after him, might have arisen originally from that circumstance. Certain, however, it is that he was distinguished by that prodigious favourite immediately on his sudden accession to power, and an attachment was formed between them which lasted uninterruptedly, and indeed gradually increased, till the Duke's death; for Buckingham, to a warmth of heart which frequently led him to favour for a time unworthy objects, joined that just decision of judgment, as well as of affection, which can alone form the basis of solid friendship; and Aston, at once affectionate and candid, polite and firm, wise and modest, presented to him a character of all others formed to gain his fullest regard. At Buckingham's instance he was sent, in 1619, to manage the treaty, so distinguished in our history, for the marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and remained there for several years. Of circumstances relating personally to himself during that tedious embassy, nothing has been hitherto known but that he wasted on it a very considerable part of his great estate; and of his public conduct in it little more has transpired. From a few letters however in the Cabala, and from some others in the Harleian collection, I have been able to collect several valuable notices of each, the most material of which I shall give here in their original form. They furnish, too, some curious hints of the imbecility and vacillation of James, and his counsels. It appears from the first letter which occurs, written a few weeks after his arrival at Madrid, that he had been suffered to set out on his expedition at his own sole expense, and that no specific provision had been made for his reimbursement.

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

It is addressed, as indeed are all the rest, to the Duke, then Marquis, of Buckingham.

“ MY MOST HONNORD LORD,

“ I have sent unto M<sup>r</sup>. Sec<sup>rie</sup> the bills of my journey into Spayne, according to the ordinary cours, to have them allowed by the principall Sec<sup>rie</sup>, and I know they will pass much the sooner thorow his hands if your Lo<sup>p</sup> will pleass to express unto him the least of yo<sup>r</sup> care of me. I press not this w<sup>th</sup> intention presently to clammor for the monney, but to keepe the pace of presidents of the same kinde; and, though I receive nothing as yett, I shalbe yet glad to have it become a debt unto me as soon as others. My preparations before I sate out on my journey, my provisions, and charge here, will rais my first year’s expences to above 7 thowsand pownde, w<sup>ch</sup> beeinge too great for me, w<sup>th</sup>out some helpe, to beare, I do humbly desire to know, by a favourable advertisement from yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>, when I may beginn to call for part of such sommes as will become dew unto me; for I shall rather ruin my owne fortune then doe anythinge heare too meane for that honnowre his Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath conferd upon me, and theare cowlde nothinge fall more heavy upon me then to be forst to make a sute of burden to his M<sup>tie</sup>. I shall humbly therfore desire to understand fully yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>’s pleasure concerninge my present request, for I desire nothinge but what may be w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup>’s content, and by y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>’s direction.

I have found that the testimonies of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>’s good opinion of me, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> perticuler respect and favowre, w<sup>ch</sup> they have taken notice of heare, hath layde me a good fondation, and made me acceptable at first; and the continewance of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>’s goodness, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>’s care of me, will dayly give increase to my powre and creditt, both with this Kinge and his ministers: I doe therfore most humbly intreat yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> to preserve unto me still the same respect and countenance, and I dowte not but that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will find that I shall imploy usefully the strength he hath given me to the advancement of his service. Whatsoever I have

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

thowte worthy advertisment I have writt to my Lo. Digbie.  
I will therfore forbear pressinge further upon yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p's</sup> patience,  
and rest

Y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p's</sup> most bound servant,

*Madrid,*

WA. ASTON.

*the 7 of May, 1620, stil. Ang."*

About this period Sir John Digby, lately created a Baron, and soon after Earl of Bristol, was sent to join Aston at Madrid. The business of the treaty was intrusted in common to their wisdom, and the management of correspondence with James and his ministers committed separately to Aston. They were both earnest friends to the match, and for the first two years of their embassy received the highest approbation and praise from the King, the Prince, and the favourite; when, on Charles's wild expedition to the court of Spain, and Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares, and consequent resolution to revenge himself by preventing the projected marriage, they found all their measures suddenly broken by a new scheme of policy, if it deserved that name, at home, the reasons for which were studiously concealed from them. In this dilemma, Aston, on the first of November, 1623, addressed to the Duke a long letter, doubtless one of many to the same effect, which concludes with these honest, friendly, and spirited, remonstrances.

——“ I have hytherto understood y<sup>t</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his Highnes have really affected this match, and have labowred faythefully to second ther desyres w<sup>th</sup> my uttermost indevours. Ther is none, I am sure, a better wittness then myself of the affection w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Grace hath born unto itt, w<sup>ch</sup> I have seen remayne constant through many trialls; and therefore, untill I understand y<sup>e</sup> contrary from y<sup>r</sup> self, I must beleieve y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> desyres are the same w<sup>ch</sup> I have seene them. I must ever speak my hart freely unto yo<sup>r</sup> Grace; and I confess y<sup>t</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> letter w<sup>ch</sup> I receaved from his Highnes, and upon y<sup>e</sup> sight of his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> unto my Lo. of Bristol, I have been jealous that his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> hart, and his Highnes', are not that to y<sup>e</sup> match w<sup>ch</sup> they have beene: but these are but dystrusts

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

of my owne, and not foundation sufficient to slaken or coole those diligences w<sup>ch</sup> I dayly performe, in conformitie to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s and his Highnes' comands, and to what remayns aparant of ther desires. I shall therfore humbly desire yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> to open my eys, and if I am out of the way to sett me straight, for I have noe affection of my owne but what agrees w<sup>th</sup> my master's, and will ever submitt w<sup>th</sup> all humillitie myself and my judgement unto his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s wisdomes, and faythfully labour to serve him, according to what I shall understand to be his will and pleasure; but untill I know, by yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's favor, by what compas to guide my cource, I can only followe his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s revealed will; and will once take the boldnes to represent unto yo<sup>r</sup> Grace, in discharge of part of what I owe you, these consederations w<sup>ch</sup> my desyre to serve you forceth from me.

I do looke upon yo<sup>r</sup> Grace as a person infinitely provoked to be an enemy to this match, and I beleeve y<sup>t</sup> you have had represented unto you many reasons, shewing how much itt concerns you to seeke to breake itt w<sup>th</sup> all the force you have; but I can neyther beleeve y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> errowre of one man can make you an enemy to that w<sup>ch</sup> brings along w<sup>th</sup> itt so much hapines and content unto his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his Highnes, nor y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's jugem<sup>t</sup> can be ledd by thos arguments y<sup>t</sup> under y<sup>e</sup> couler of safety would bring you into a dangerous laberinth. Yo<sup>r</sup> Grace hath given a noble testimonye how little you have valewed yo<sup>r</sup> owne safety in respect of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s service, and therefore I assure myself you would conteme all consederations concerning yourself y<sup>t</sup> might hinder yo<sup>r</sup> advancement of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s ends. In the proceeding to this match ther is the same conveniencys to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> y<sup>t</sup> ever hath beene; ther is y<sup>e</sup> same Lady; y<sup>e</sup> same portion; y<sup>e</sup> same frendship desired; they professing here an exact complying w<sup>th</sup> what is capitulated, and a resolution to give his Ma<sup>tie</sup> satisfaction in whatsoever is in their powre. From your Grace none can take away y<sup>e</sup> honor of having beene y<sup>e</sup> principall meanes by w<sup>ch</sup> this great busines hath been brought to a conclusion; and, whatsoever others maye suggest against yo<sup>r</sup> Grace, y<sup>e</sup> Infanta, trewly informed, cannot but

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

understand you y<sup>e</sup> person to whom she owes most in this busines. Yo<sup>r</sup> Grace and y<sup>e</sup> Conde of Olivares have falne upon diferent wayes, that w<sup>ch</sup> concerns y<sup>e</sup> honor of y<sup>e</sup> King o<sup>r</sup> master being diferent to that w<sup>ch</sup> he understood concerned most his master. Yo<sup>r</sup> ends were both one for y<sup>e</sup> efecting of y<sup>e</sup> match, and w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> conclusion of itt he cannot but better understand you. Would yo<sup>r</sup> Grace would com̄itt itt to my charg to inform y<sup>e</sup> Infanta what you have merited, and to acomodate all other mistakes here concerning yo<sup>r</sup> proceeding. If yo<sup>r</sup> Grace could reconcyle yo<sup>r</sup> hart, I would not dowte but w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> conclusion of y<sup>e</sup> match to compose all things to yo<sup>r</sup> good satisfaction, and bring them to a trewer understanding of you, and of ther obligations unto you. Into what a sea of confusions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Ma<sup>tie</sup> I will leave to yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's wisdome to consider of, it being too large a discourse for a letter.

Considering myself, yo<sup>r</sup> Grace knowes my wants, and I dowt not that yo<sup>r</sup> care is what I could wish. I should be glad, when yow have done w<sup>th</sup> Peter Wych, to see him dyspached away w<sup>th</sup> some supplies to me, w<sup>ch</sup> I shalbe in extreame want of by Christmass; my debtes, beside, in England being clamorous upon me for some satisfaction. I leave all to y<sup>r</sup> Grace's care and favor, ever resting

Yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's humblest and most bounden servant,

WA. ASTON.

Post Scripta. The Condessa of Olivares bids me tell yow that she kisses yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's hands, and doth every day recommend yow perticularly by name in her prayers to God."

It will be recollected that some writers have ascribed Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares to the detection of an intrigue with that minister's lady; and that others, particularly Lord Clarendon, have treated the report with contempt. The post-script to this letter may furnish matter of speculation to those who love to analyse such nice points of historical disquisition. But, to return to our subject: on the twenty-third of the same

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

month Aston again pressed the Duke, by a letter in which we find the following passage —

“Itt hath beene here of late spread abroad y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Grace hath doun many ill offices against y<sup>e</sup> proceeding to y<sup>e</sup> match, but I have cried itt as much downe as I could, assuring these ministers y<sup>t</sup> itt is a malitious report, and have desired them to be confident y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Grace, who hath so often made professions to y<sup>e</sup> Princess, assuring her y<sup>t</sup> yow will ever be, as yow have been, a faythefull servant unto y<sup>e</sup> busines of y<sup>e</sup> match, and will constantlye labowre to remove whatsoever dyfficulties may opose themselves, though others may suggest unto her Highnes y<sup>e</sup> contrary, and y<sup>t</sup> hath made so large professions as yow did unto y<sup>e</sup> King here at yo<sup>r</sup> parting, will never doe any thing so contrary to y<sup>e</sup> King o<sup>r</sup> master’s service, and yo<sup>r</sup> owne honor, as to seeke to breake y<sup>e</sup> amitie betwixt thes Crownes; and have therefore, intreated them not to give credit to rumors y<sup>t</sup> ar raised rather out of malice then upon any just ground.”

Buckingham became at length angry, rather perhaps at the justness than at the freedom of these repeated observations, but his friendship for Aston remained entire. At the same time, the King too, and the Prince, in that anxiety to break off the match with which they had been inspired by Buckingham, intimated to Sir Walter their displeasure at his having concurred with Bristol in fixing a day for the espousals, without previously binding the King of Spain to the restitution of the Palatinate, to which they well knew that Prince would never consent. On the fifth of December he wrote to the Duke to intercede for him, and on the same day addressed to the King the following letter, the confused style of which, so different from his usual method of expression, clearly indicates the perturbation of his mind at the moment.

“May itt please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>,

Upon y<sup>e</sup> understanding from my Lo. Duke of Buckingham of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> displeasure towards me, (w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> greatest affliction y<sup>t</sup> ever I receaved) for having conformed my

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

self to the opinion of my Lo. of Bristol touching y<sup>e</sup> Disposorios, w<sup>th</sup> all humilitie acknowleging my error ; and then not presuming to wright unto yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> myselfe, I humbly intreated his Highnes and my Lo. Duke to become sutors unto yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> for yo<sup>r</sup> pardon, w<sup>ch</sup> I doe y<sup>e</sup> better hope I have obtained, not dowting but they have beene pleased to have been my mediators unto yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>. And this being the first reprehension y<sup>t</sup> ever I receaved, I doe alsoe not dowbt but it will extenuate my faulte when yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall please to consider y<sup>t</sup> what I then did was grounded upon y<sup>e</sup> conceaving y<sup>t</sup> by y<sup>t</sup> meanes yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> should have had yo<sup>r</sup> desyres, both in y<sup>e</sup> match, and in y<sup>e</sup> busines of y<sup>e</sup> Palatinate, howsoever in that tyme not precisely agreeing w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie's</sup> directions ; and y<sup>t</sup> by oposing my self unto y<sup>e</sup> way w<sup>ch</sup> his Lo<sup>p</sup> intended to hold, I showld so much have distracted yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie's</sup> affaires by a single action of my owne, w<sup>ch</sup> I understood not how I could justifie, having receaved no warrant for itt. And I presume itt is yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie's</sup> pleasure that I should be ever tender to doe anything y<sup>t</sup> might give distasts in businesses of soe great importance, without a cleare and perfect direction. I will not trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> further, but, with my dayly prayers for yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie's</sup> long life, health, and hapie raigne, doe rest,

Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie's</sup> most humble subject and servant,

W. ASTON."

Buckingham answered him by a letter in which haughtiness and anger are so amiably chastened by kindness, that it is matter of regret that its length should exceed the limits of this publication. "In your letter of the fifth of December," begins the Duke, "you desire me to give you my opinion. My ancient acquaintance, long custom of loving you, with constancy of friendship, invites me to do you this office of good will, and to serve you according to your request." He proceeds to remind Aston that the Prince, when at Madrid, had distinctly apprised him that the restitution of the Palatinate must be a condition for the match ; had since written to him to the same effect ; and was therefore

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

astonished to find that he had consented to fix a day for the espousals without previous security for the performance; (all which, by the way, is contrary to the usual report of history); that it had been therefore in contemplation to recall both Bristol and himself; "but," says the Duke, "I have with much difficulty prevented this; so that it will be now in your power, by your carriage, to come off without reproof." He concludes—"If you think, at first sight, I press a little hard upon this point, you may be pleased to interpret it to be a faithful way of satisfying your request, and an expression of my affection to have you do all things suitable to your wisdom, virtue, and honour, and according to the wishes of your's,

G. BUCKINGHAM."

Aston, in his answer to this letter, on the twenty-second of the same month, says, "I have in all things with so much affection desired to serve yo<sup>r</sup> Grace every way to yo<sup>r</sup> satisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me that I should have done anything whereby I might lessen yo<sup>r</sup> favourable opinion towards me, but I hope yo<sup>r</sup> Grace hath by this time set me straight both w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his Highnes, and restored me to the place in yo<sup>r</sup> affection which I formerly had." And this indeed the Duke had fully accomplished; but these rebukes left a deep impression on Sir Walter's mind, for, in the last letter which I find from him, dated exactly one month after the preceding, are these melancholy expressions: "I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greatest businesses that have byn treated of many years, and the bitterest stormes threatning betwyxt these crownes that have byn these many ages. I have therefore no hope to save myself, without I be guided by his Highnes' and yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's trusts and care of me." He remained, however, with the highest credit, at Madrid, the sole minister, (for his colleague had quitted his station in disgust, amidst the differences which have just now been related) till 1625, when he returned on the accession of Charles the First, by whom, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1627, he was created Baron Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland. In 1635 he was again sent am-

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

bassador to the court of Spain, where he continued in that character till 1638 : of this last mission, which indeed involved only ordinary matters between the two kingdoms, no particulars have occurred to me. Perhaps no man ever served his country with more fidelity to his King, or equal disadvantage to himself. "He was seised," says a memorandum preserved in the family, in the handwriting of his grandson, Walter, third Lord Aston, "at the time of his going into Spaine, of divers manors and Lordships, lying in the counties of Stafford, Warwick, Derby, and Leicestre, to the no lesse value than of 10,000*l.* p<sup>r</sup>. an., the greatest part of which he lost and dispended in that service."

The gratitude of Drayton's muse has consecrated the memory of Lord Aston as a lover and encourager of English poesy, and as a most beneficent friend. He had scarcely overstepped childhood when he became a patron, for, in 1598, the poet dedicates to him one of the "Heroical Epistles." In the preface to the *Polyolbion*, 1612, we find this passage—"Whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit, I thankfully confess it to proceed from the continual bounty of my truly noble friend, Sir Walter Aston ; which hath given me the best of those hours whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish." Drayton's works indeed abound with testimonies of esteem and affection for him, far too numerous to be here inserted ; but I cannot suppress one sonnet, full of manliness of sentiment, and elegance of expression, addressed "to the worthy, and his most honoured friend, Ma. Walter Aston."

" I will not strive m'invention to inforce  
With needless words, your eyes to entertaine ;  
T' observe the formall ordinary course  
That every one so vulgarly doth faine :  
Our interchanged and deliberate choice  
Is with more firme and true election sorted  
Than stands in censure of the common voyce,  
That with light humour fondly is transported.  
Nor take I patterne of another's praise,  
But what my pen can constantly avowe ;

WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

Nor walke more publique, nor obscurer, waies  
Than virtue bids, and judgement will allowe.  
So shall my love and best endeavours serve you,  
And still shall studie still so to deserve you."

Lord Aston married Gertrude, only daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Sadleir, of Standon, in Herts, and grand-daughter of that eminent statesman, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and had by her five sons, and as many daughters. Of these Walter, Thomas, and John, the first, fourth, and fifth sons, died in infancy; another Walter, second son, but at length heir, succeeded to the title and estates; and Herbert, the third, was seated at Colton, in Staffordshire. The daughters were Frances, married to Sir William Persall, of Canwell, near Lichfield; Gertrude, to Henry Thimelby, of Irnham, in Lincolnshire; Constantia, to Walter Fowler, of St. Thomas' Priory, near Stafford; Honora, and another, who died infants. Lord Aston departed in the latter end of July, or the beginning of August, 1639, for he was buried on the thirteenth of the last-named month, in St. Mary's church, in the town of Stafford.







Engraved by St. Lightfoot

FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND. .

OB. 1639.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.





## FRANCES HOWARD,

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND,

WAS the only child of Thomas, Viscount Bindon (second of the sons who attained to manhood, of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the celebrated Henry, Earl of Surrey) by his third wife, Mabel, daughter of Nicholas Burton, of Carshalton, in Surrey. The beauty of this lady has been highly celebrated, and her vanities and eccentricities abundantly censured. She was born about the year 1578, and became at an early age, under the influence of one of those extravagant predilections so frequent in youth, the wife of a person certainly of unsuitable rank. In this marriage originated much of the ridicule which has been levelled at her character, and, as ridicule always deals in exaggeration, the condition of her first husband has been sunk by wilful misrepresentation to utter baseness. Whenever her name is mentioned, his is sure to be coupled with it, and the description usually bestowed on him is "one Prannel, a vintner's son," and some have gone further, and asserted that his father was a mere alehouse-keeper : but the truth is that his father, Henry Prannel, was an alderman of London, and in a time too when none but the most respectable of the commercial order were elected to that degree. He had probably obtained his freedom of the city in the Vintners' company, and hence this silly slander. Henry, his only son, who had the honour of gaining the hand of this high-born damsel, inherited from him, in 1594, the manors of Berewyk, and Rokey, otherwise Walter Andrews, with other considerable estates in the northern part of Hertfordshire, and these he settled

on himself and his wife, and their issue, by a deed of the fourteenth of May, 1597, which fixes with tolerable precision the date of their marriage. Prannel, however, survived little more than two years, and left her childless. He was buried at Barkway, in Herts, on the twelfth of December, 1599.

Such a widow was unlikely to remain long without suitors. She was addressed by many, but her most ardent admirer was Sir George Rodney, a Somersetshire gentleman, possessed of considerable estates, in the prime of life, and highly accomplished. It is but common justice to her memory to say, that he seems from the beginning to have cherished a hopeless flame, since, in a correspondence of a most singular nature, which will presently appear, no hint of reproach is uttered on his part, or of apology on hers ; yet it has been said that she at first encouraged him. Howsoever this might have been, certain it is that she disappointed his views by becoming the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who was at this time more than sixty years of age, and had been already twice married. Rodney, in the wild extravagance of an ungovernable passion, had the temerity to persevere in his suit, and was repulsed with firmness, tempered by a gentleness of manner, vainly contrived, as it should seem, to calm the fury of his temper, and perhaps to conceal his guilty imprudence from all but the Countess and himself. It had no other effect than to raise the tumult of his mind to madness. "Having drunk in too much affection," (to use the words of Arthur Wilson, in his *Reign of James the First*) "and not being able with his reason to digest it, he summoned up his spirits to a most desperate attempt, and coming to Amesbury, where the Earl and Countess were then resident, to act it, he retired to an inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-composed verses to the Countess, in his own blood (strange kind of composedness) wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness ; and when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries, he ran himself upon his sword, and so ended that life which he thought death to enjoy, leaving

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

the Countess to a strict remembrance of her inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad spectacle of frailty." Contemporary transcripts of the verses referred to by Wilson, and of an answer from the Countess, remain in the treasures of the British Museum, unless we ought to doubt their authenticity, for which I can see no sufficient reason; but this must ever remain matter of opinion. If they are genuine, it is needless to say that they demand insertion here: if otherwise, their intrinsic merit might plead some apology for this publication of them.

SIR GEORGE RODNEY TO THE COUNTESSE OF HERTFORD.

From one that languisheth in discontent,  
Dear Faire, receive this greeting to thee sent;  
And still as oft as it is read by thee,  
Then with some deep sad sigh, remember mee;  
When bee thou sure this order I will keepe,  
My harte shall bleed as fast as thine shall weepe:  
So if in shedding tears thou dost not faine,  
With drops of blood I'll pay thee tears againe;  
To make our sorrowes somewhat like abound,  
That as thy eies so may my hart be drown'd,  
In which greife shall bee full, sighes shall be plentie,  
And for one sighe of thine, I'll give thee twentie;  
And to the audit of thy strange content  
Pay interest for the thoughts which thou hast lent;  
For too too well my fortunes make me knowe  
My hapless Love must worke my overthrowe,  
Wherein not death itself can come with paine,  
Were not my death made woeful by disdaine;  
By which the times may say, by what is donne,  
My father had one lost degenerate sonne,  
And I shall to the stocke from whence I came,  
Behold a blott both to my bloud and name,  
Soe much to yield, where in disgrace I prove,  
To femall softness, and unfruitfull love.  
Confess I doe shame is my best desert,  
Plantinge affection on a barren hart.  
'Twas nature's sinne thus to commix a mynd  
With beautie died in graine so muche unkinde

FRANCES HOWARD,

No—'twas my fortune's error to vow duty  
To one that bears defiance in her beautie.  
Sweete poyson ; precious wooe ; infectious jewell :  
Such is a ladie that is faire and cruell.  
Howe well could I with ayre, camelion like,  
Live happie, and still gazeing on thy cheeke,  
In which, forsaken man ! mee thinke I see  
How goodlie love doth threaten cares to mee.  
Why dost thou frowne thus on a kneelinge soule,  
Whose faultes in love thou may'st as well controule.—  
In love—but oh ! that word, I feare  
Is hatefull still both to thy hart and eare.  
Am I too meane in ranck ? I knowe I am,  
Nor can I raise the stocke from whence I came.  
I am no Barron's sonne, nor born so high :  
Would I were lower, soe I were not I :  
As lowe as envy's wishes could impart,  
Soe I could sett my sighes beneath my hart.  
Ladie, in breefe, my fates does so intend,  
The period of my daies drawes to an end :  
The thread of my mortalitie is spunne,  
Cancell'd my life, my thread of frailtie runne.  
Death stands before my eies, and says my doome  
By destinie to die was not yet come ;  
Tells me I might have liv'd, and tells me truth,  
I am not sick yett in my strength of youth ;  
But says in such a lamentable case  
I must not live to overlive disgrace ;  
And yields strong reasons, for, says death most clearlie,  
Such is her pleasure whom thou lov'st most dearlie.  
Oh be that wish accomplished, to showe  
How it shall bee ; but hope alas is vayne  
When all my hope is clouded with disdain.  
Nor, ladie, dare I blame you, since your choice,  
With whome in honour you doe now rejoyce,  
Is worthie in himself, or indeed rather  
In being sonne to such a worthie father,  
Of whom amidst my griefes I have confest  
He was of Seymors both the great'st and best.  
Oh may his sonne be like him in his life :  
Heer's then a husband fitt for such a wife.  
Yett, had my father answered his degree,  
I might have bin as worthie full as hee ;

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

For I had then bin captive to love's might,  
More guided by my hart than by my sight.  
Neglect of errour and the hand of heaven  
Are meerlie strangers, yett it might have given  
Well parted grace to frame a perfect creature,  
A constant judgment to a constant feature ;  
For youth had then been match'd, a goodlie thinge,  
Not to the sapless autumnne, but the springe.  
But O ! the time is past, and all too late :  
I may lament, but not recall my fate.  
Stricke stands the censure which report displays,  
That takes from mee the honor of my daies.  
Revive my hopes—I cannot sincke in fame,  
My reputation lost, disgrac't my name.  
In virtue I am wounded, and can have  
No glory nowe but in the conqueringe grave.  
Sad memory to come this doome may give,  
And say hee died that had no hart to live :  
Herein my greifes and I shall well agree :  
I'll bury them, as they have buried mee :  
Thus to thy angry beauty, pretious deare,  
A sacrifice of pittie will I reare ;  
A sacrifice of peace to end all strife ;  
As true a hart as ever harboured life.  
I may doe't, but my frailetie may forslow't,  
And, indeed, 'tis not fitt that you should know't.  
No, ladie, no ; although I cannot wyne  
Your love for suite, to die for love is sinne.  
Yet give me leave to singe my former songe :  
I am too deeplie wounded to live longe,  
Though not to die in hast ; but I protest,  
If death could make you thinke I lov'd you best,  
Would I were dead, that you alone might knowe  
How much to you I did both vowe and owe.  
I strive in vaine : my miseries are such  
That all I doe or write is all too much.  
My wish I have, if I be understood,  
Willing to seale my meaning with my blood.  
Faire, doe not fret, nor yett at all be mov'd,  
That I have thus unfortunatelie loved ;  
Nor thinke herein report disgracefull for thee ;  
Heaven knowes I ever thought myselfe unworthie.

FRANCES HOWARD,

Yett if you have a thought to cast away,  
Cast it on mee, and soe you may repay  
My service with some ease, and I in mynde  
Commend that pittie I could never finde.  
Thus ever bee, as you are, ever faire :  
Rest you in much content ; I in despaire.

THE COUNTESSE'S ANSWERE.

Divided in your sorrowes, I have strove  
To pittie that attemp I must not love,  
For which your health you sent me (sith in vaine,  
Because I could not keepe) returnes againe.  
Soe nowe the case betweene us twoe thus stands,  
My present state, and your mishappe, commands :  
Wherein what should I say but what I see ?  
Impute the faultes to destinee, not mee.  
Poore is the part of beautie I enjoy,  
If where it winnes one, it must one destroy.  
Small cause have I, the owner, to rejoyce,  
That cannot take free passage in my choyce ;  
But, for the fruitless paintinge of my cheekes,  
Must still become a slave to him that seekes,  
Or be term'd cruell, or, which is farre worse,  
Of death or bloudshedd undergoe the curse :  
Soe if one desperate in madnesse do it,  
Not yieldinge, I am accessarie to it.  
Is bondage then the happinesse attends  
On those whome evene one for faire commends ?  
Then surelie better much it is to bee,  
Rather than faire, in thraldome borne and free :  
But this I neede not pleade, since beautie's mirror  
Occasions not your suite, but your own error ;  
And some such men there are, in whome opinion  
Of what doth seeme, not is, hath most dominion :  
Those onlie that for excellent doe seeme  
What is not soe, indeed, but in esteeme,  
Which, though I will not tax for lust in any,  
Yett very lust, no doubt, it is in many ;  
For uncompounded love, pure and refin'd,  
Is a moste-neate perfection of the mynde,  
And, being suche, must evermore effect  
Thinges like itself in qualitie elect .

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

Which granted, love in these should seeke for grace  
Which faire are in condition not in face.  
So love a virtue is.—How many then  
True lovers should bee found amongst you men ?  
Such as preferr, by reason's temperate fire,  
Lawfull dessert before unjust desire ;  
Such as with goodness, in itself pure fram'd,  
Are mildlie hot, not franticklie inflam'd ;  
Such as with goodness doe affection measure,  
Grounded on cause of motion, not of pleasure.  
Hee's not fitt choice that passionatelie hovers ;  
Lovers are men, but most men are not lovers ;  
And this should make us froward in deniall,  
Since still wee knowe our miseries by triall.  
Successe and custom, to weake women foes,  
Have made men wanton in our overthrowes.  
What is't in their attempts men have not vaunted,  
Because the worser of our sex have graunted ?  
To weepe, to threaten, flatter, lie, protest,  
Are but in earnest lust, and love in jest.  
Myself have heard it now and then avow'd  
By some whome use in follie hath made prowd,  
That if by oathes one may his purpose winne,  
Noe perjury in such a case is sinne :  
And can wee then bee blamed if, being harm'd  
By sadd experience, we bee stronglie arm'd  
With resolution to defend our wrongs  
Against the perjur'd falsehood of men's tongues ?  
But whither range I in this vaine dispute,  
Since what you seeke for is a wicked suite,  
In telling you are captive to love's mighte,  
More guided by your hart than by your sight ?  
I can but answer to the love you ow'd,  
The love that should have thank'd you is bestow'd :  
Soe I must die in debt ; my hart is gone ;  
You are not hee, and I must have but one.  
To him I have engag'd my blushless truth :  
Love is not wise in age ; most rash in youth ;  
And I applaud my fortune, which have mett  
That fate which grave discretion doth begett.  
Terme age the autumn ; 'tis a better play  
To singe in winter, than to weepe in May.

FRANCES HOWARD,

Somethinge I know ; content is match'd with yeares,  
When to wedd younge is as to marry teares.  
And whoe can choose but faithfullie affect  
That wisdome that knowes wiselie to direct ?  
When youth with youth their race together runne,  
Both ignorant to guide, are both undone,  
And therefore doe not you my choyce molest ;  
My match must please you, for it likes mee best :  
Nor do you take the course to purchase love  
From one by striveinge howe you may remove  
My love from him whose nowe I am, for hee  
That is no friend to him is none to mee.  
Thus farr to satisfie the feeleeinge paine  
Which in your letter seemes soe to complaine,  
And speaks for you with pittie more than witte,  
Have I an answer made, though farr unfitte ;  
Unfitt, consideringe whoe, and whose, I am ;  
Unfitt both for your comfort and my name.  
Be not deceiv'd, nor take your hope by this,  
For, doing soe, in truth you doe amisse.  
If fate had mark'd mee your's, full well you knowe  
Your earnest suite had wonne mee long agoe :  
But 'twas not so ordain'd ; then 'twere uneven  
To strive against the ordinance of heaven.  
'Twas not the fortune of your lowe descent  
Your happe in haveing mee did not prevent :  
Full well I knowe report in no wise can  
Deny your father's sonne a gentleman.  
Both hee and you have well deserv'd the same  
By ancient titles, and by worthie fame,  
And such you are, but what is that to mee  
To withstande destinie, or fate's decree ?  
The many honnours donne unto our House  
Make me not proude, nor being a new spouse  
To my new Lorde : 'tis not an auncient seate  
Of glorie, but of vertue makes us greate.  
Then herein, to add greatness to your blood,  
Conquer desire ; be greate in beinge goode ;  
And you shall herein much more honor finde,  
Makeinge your passions subjecte to your mynd,  
Than if thou were term'd noble, which lov'd stile  
Is, without vertue's dresse, accompted vile.

## DUCHÉSS OF RICHMÔND.

In breefe, whereas you write the fatall strife,  
'Twixt love and my disdaine have doom'd your life ;  
Herein my minde is, I would have you knowe it,  
Poorlie meethinke you strive to play the poet ;  
And poets, I have heard, in such a case,  
Hold flattery and lieinge the best grace ;  
For they are men forsooth have wordes to pierce  
And wound a stoney heart with softning verse.  
They can worke wonders, and to tricke will move  
A marble hart : they teach the art of love :  
They can write sonnetts, and with warbling rymes  
Make woemen as lighte as are the times ;  
And, if I bee not then deceived much,  
Your last lines intimate you to bee such :  
If you bee such, then I beleeeve with ease  
That you canne die for love, if that you please.  
Then dye as poets doe, in sighes, (false fee  
To corrupt truth) in sonnetting aye mee ;  
With such like pretie deathes, whose trimme disguise  
May barter yeilding hartes, and blind soft eies.  
No, no, I never yett could heare or prove  
That there was ever any died for love ;  
Nor would I have you be the man begine  
The earnest daunce for such a sportive sinne :  
For what would prove a laughter for an age ;  
Stuffe for a play ; fitt matter for a stage.  
But, that I may not spend my time in words,  
Thus much my leisure and my witte affordes,  
To make you thinke the paines you did employ  
Were not all spent on one both nice and coy.  
In honourable meaninge nowe it restes  
That you for worth's sake graunt mee two requests :  
First, to desist your suit, and give less scope  
To the licentious aptness of your hope ;  
Next, that you dare not to attempt the passage  
Of more replies, by letters, or by message.  
The first suite I'll entreate it at your hand,  
And for the latter of them, I'le commaunde.  
In doing which you give me cause to say  
That some thoughts on you are not cast away :  
Else, all my love is firmlie plac'd, therefore  
Hope for no favour—I will love no more.

FRANCES HOWARD,

SIR GEORGE RODNEY, BEFORE HEE KILLED HIMSELFE.

What shall I doe that am undone ?  
Where shall I flie, myselfe to shunne ?  
Ah mee ! myselfe, myselfe must kill,  
And yett I die against my will.  
In starry letters I behold  
My death in the heavens enroll'd :  
There find I, wrytt in skies above,  
That I, poore I must die for love.  
'Twas not my love deserved to die ;  
O no, it was unworthie I.  
I for her love should not have dy'de,  
But that I had no worth beside.  
Ah mee ! that love such woes procures,  
For without her no love endures.  
I for her vertues her doe serve,  
Does such a love a death deserve ?

The Countess is said to have accepted a succeeding lover of a milder cast, with less coyness, yet with unstained honour. Lodowick Stuart, then Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Richmond and Lenox, paid his addresses to her in the chaste and mysterious spirit of ancient romance, and they were favourably received.

“In the Earl, her husband’s time,” says Wilson, “she was often courted by the Duke, who presented many a fair offering to her, as an humble suppliant ; sometimes in a blue coat, with a basket-hilt sword ; making his addresses in such odd disguises.” He waited long and patiently for her hand, the Earl of Hertford surviving till 1621. She was now perhaps the richest dowager in England, possessing, in addition to considerable property derived from her first husband, a jointure of five thousand pounds a year settled on her by her aged Lord, and, presently after his death, bestowed her abated beauty, and increased wealth, on the Duke of Richmond. She became once more a widow, for the Duke was found dead in his bed on the twelfth of February, 1623—4 ;

## DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

and now, again says Wilson, “after his decease, Lennox and Richmond, with the great title of Duchess, gave period to her honour, which could not arrive at her mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent heights in speculation, for, finding the King a widower, she vowed, after so great a Prince as Richmond, never to be blown with the kisses, nor eat at the table of a subject; and this vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the bravery of her spirit. But this bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her aim; and, to make good her resolution, she speciously observed her rule to the last.”

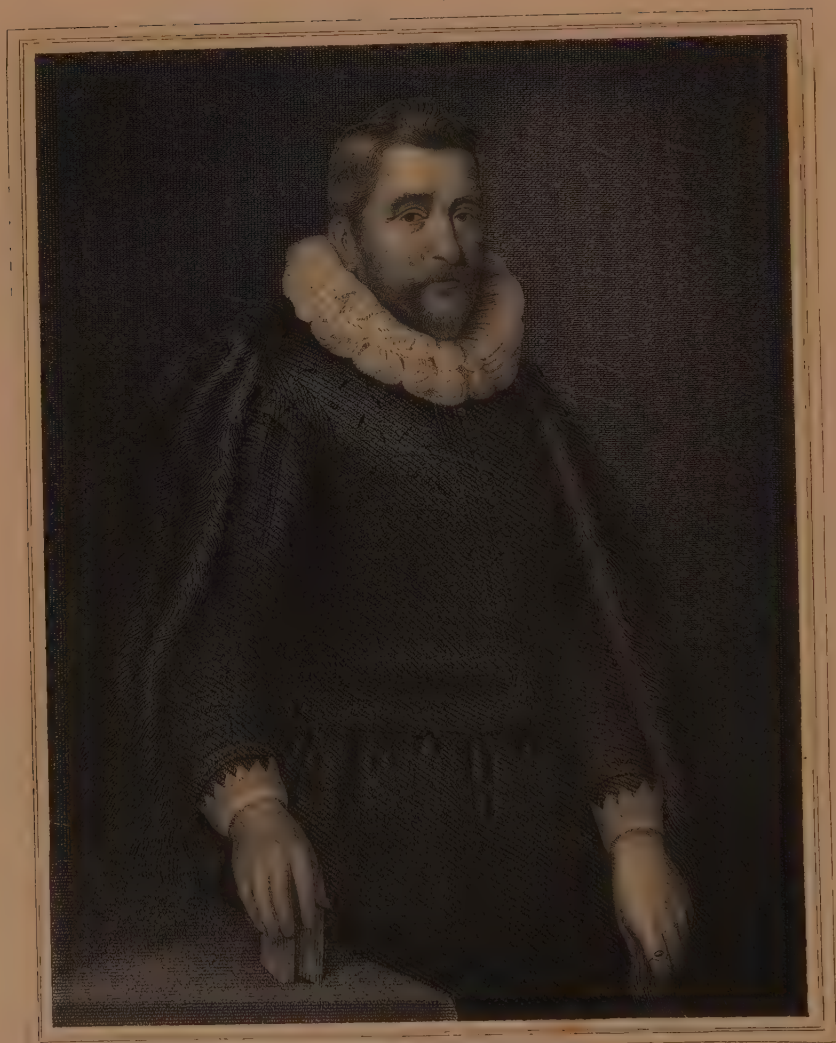
The same author informs us that “when she was Countess of Hertford, and found admirers about her, she would often discourse of her two Grandfathers, the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, recounting the time since one of her grandfathers did this; the other did that. But if the Earl, her husband, came in presence, she would presently desist; for when he found her in those exaltations, to take her down, he would say, ‘Frank, Frank, how long is it since thou wert married to Prannel?’ which would damp the wings of her spirit, and make her look after her feet, as well as gaudy plumes. One little vanity,” adds Wilson, “of this great Duchess may yet crowd in this story—She was a woman greedy of fame, and loved to keep great state with little cost; for, being much visited by all the great ones, she had her formality of officers and gentlemen that gave attendance, and this advantage, that none ever eat with her; yet all the tables in the hall were spread, as if there had been meat, and men to furnish them; but before eating time, the house being voided, the linen returned into their folds again, and all her people grazed on some few dishes. Yet, where her actions came into fame’s fingering, her gifts were suitable to the greatness of her mind; for the Queen of Bohemia, to the christening of whose child she was a witness, had some taste of them; and, being blown up by admiration for this bounty, either by her own design to magnify her merit, or by others, in mockery, to magnify her vanity, huge inventories of massy plate went up

FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

and down from hand to hand, that she had given that Queen, and most believed it, yet they were but paper presents: those inventories had a non est inventus at the Hague: they saw the shell, the inventory, but never found the kernel, the plate. Such difference there is between solid worth, and airy paper-greatness." Wilson, whose anecdotes do not always deserve implicit faith, is probably correct in the view which he has given of this singular lady's character. It involved the strangest contrarieties. We learn from a letter in the Strafford papers, that even in her dying moments she insisted on the observance of all the stately ceremonies to which she had accustomed herself, and was actually surrounded by the officers of her household, bearing white wands, and other ensigns of their respective stations; while a public record informs us that she condescended to accept from James, in partnership with another person, an exclusive patent for coining farthings.

The Duchess of Richmond had no children by either of her husbands. She died on the eighth of October, 1639, and was buried, with the Duke, under a most magnificent monument, erected by herself, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.





Engraved by J. C. Smith

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

OB. 1539.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CORNELIUS JANSEN, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.



## SIR HENRY WOTTON.

reputation, from the reign of Henry the Sixth, till his father, who had been repeatedly urged to engage in public service, resolved to sit down in hospitable privacy on his ancient inheritance. That gentleman, Thomas Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent, was twice married, and Henry, the subject of this memoir, his fourth, but only son by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in that county, was born at Boughton, on the thirtieth of March, 1568. His education, in consequence probably of an early promise of extraordinary genius, was of an higher order than it has been usual in any time to allot to such a younger son. He was removed from the care of a domestic tutor to Winchester school, and from thence at the age of sixteen to Oxford, where he was admitted of New College, but resided, according to the frequent usage of that time, in Hart Hall, in the rank of a gentleman commoner. He afterwards studied at Queen's College, with the most rapid success, relieving however the labour of his severer occupations in more lively exercises of his genius, particularly in the composition of a tragedy, to which he gave the title of *Tancredo*. It is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held in his college that the provost, at a period when dramatic composition was esteemed even disgraceful, should not only have encouraged him to write that play, but should have even permitted the representation of it, as it should seem, by the students; for Isaac Walton, in his short sketch of *Wotton's Life*, tells us that "he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write it for their private use." Walton adds that it was, "for the method, and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of future abilities." The play however was never printed, and is probably wholly lost.

We have a remarkable proof of the variety of his genius in his success in the three customary lectures read by him on his taking the degree of Master of Arts, the subject of which was the human

## SIR HENRY WOTTON

eye. He treated it at once with such depth of physical knowledge and moral feeling, and with so much poetical and rhetorical elegance, that the celebrated Italian, Alberico Gentili, then Professor of Civil Law, and under whom he studied in that faculty, gave him the familiar appellation of "Henrico mi Ocelli," and he was better known, during the remainder of his residence in the University, by that name than by his own. He continued there for two years after his father's death, which happened in 1589, and then set out to make the tour of Europe, with an annual income of one hundred marks derived from that event. He visited France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, travelling under feigned names, which he frequently changed, and passing always as a Roman Catholic; his immediate view general improvement, and his final object the qualifications for a statesman. It seems probable indeed, from some passages of uncertain import in a few of his letters written during that tour to his friend Lord Zouch, that he was even then in some sort of political correspondence with Elizabeth's ministers, which may account for the air of mystery which he assumed. He remained abroad for several years, and soon after his return, apparently in 1596, the favourite Robert, Earl of Essex, appointed him one of his two secretaries, in which capacity he attended that nobleman in his expeditions against the Spaniards, as well as in his journey to Ireland in 1599. Essex, upon his return from thence, was charged with high treason, and Wotton, who perhaps had good ground to forebode the catastrophe which ensued, fled into France, and from thence went again to Italy, and fixed his residence at Florence. Here he wrote his "State of Christendom, or a most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages and hidden mysteries of the times." It has been thought, and reasonably enough, that he composed that piece in the hope of removing some ill opinions conceived of him by Elizabeth, for it contains in fact a defence of almost every measure of her reign, mixed with the highest eulogies on her wisdom and goodness.

In his former visit to Italy he had become intimately acquainted

## SIR HENRY WOTTON.

with a gentleman of the name of Vietta, whom he now found at Florence, in the office of secretary to the Grand Duke. That Prince, not long after Wotton's arrival, had discovered from some intercepted letters a design to poison the King of Scotland, and was anxious to put James on his guard against the assassins. Vietta recommended Wotton to convey the intelligence; and introduced him to the Duke, from whom he received his instructions, together with such Italian antidotes against poison as had been till then unknown to the Scots. This expedition, which was secretly pregnant with the chief future events of his life, was marked by circumstances of romantic singularity. He assumed an Italian name, and, to avoid observation, particularly by any of his own country, travelled post into Norway, and there embarked for Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. There is a sort of interest in Walton's relation of his introduction to James which any alteration would weaken. "He used means," says Walton, "by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him that the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his Majesty. This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, he, after a little wonder, mixed with jealousy, to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name, which was said to be Octavio Baldi, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening. When Octavio Baldi came to the presence chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier, which, Italian like, he then wore; and, being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords, standing distant in several corners of the chamber, at the sight of whom he made a stand, which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his message, for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters, and his message to the King in Italian, which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause,

## SIR HENRY WOTTON.

Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation, which was promised and performed by the King, during his abode there, which was three months."

Wotton returned to Florence with James's acknowledgments, and Elizabeth dying within a few months, that Prince mounted the throne of England. Soon after his arrival in London, having found among the late Queen's servants a Lord Wotton (for she had bestowed a barony on the elder brother of Henry) in the office of Comptroller of the Household, and being struck by the name, he demanded of that nobleman, to use again the words of Walton, if he knew one Henry Wotton, who had spent much time in foreign travel. The other replied that he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King asking where he then was, was answered at Venice or Florence; but that by late letters from thence he understood that he would suddenly be at Paris. 'Send for him then,' said the King, 'and when he shall come into England, bid him repair to me.' The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King if he knew him, to which the King answered, 'You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me.' Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with; and said, 'seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an embassy, I have sent for you to declare my purpose, which is to make use of you in that kind hereafter;' and indeed the King did so most of the two and twenty years of his reign: but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance on him, he restored to him his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him."

James indeed amply proved the sincerity with which he had

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

spoken of Wotton's abilities, by giving him the choice of those three missions which were at that precise period the most important—to Paris, Madrid, or Venice. He had formed strict friendships with the most eminent men in Italy, and his disposition, as well as his purse, was ill suited to the habits of luxurious and splendid courts: he made his election therefore for the Venetian embassy, and left England in the spring of 1604. Venice was at that time in a state of violent contention with the See of Rome, and James entertained hopes, by fomenting the division, of detaching it wholly from that Church. The celebrated Paul Sarpi, in every way formidable, and not least for being an ecclesiastic, was the chief director at that time of the Venetian counsels; Wotton formed a close intimacy with him; and flattered him by transmitting to James the sheets of his famous history of the Council of Trent as they fell from his pen. In the mean time Paul the Fourth, who had succeeded to the papal throne amidst the heat of the feud, issued his sentence of excommunication against the whole Venetian state: and its final separation, which Wotton had earnestly endeavoured to effect, seemed to be at hand, when the Pope suddenly gave way, and the dispute, which had subsisted for some years, was accommodated. Burnet, in his life of Bishop Bedel, who was chaplain to this embassy, ascribes, with the carelessness or the malevolence which equally distinguished him, the failure of James's design to Wotton's negligence or treachery, and has been unwarily followed by Welwood; but the aspersion has been wholly wiped away by Dr. Hickes, in a statement of positive facts, too large to be admitted in this place.

Wotton returned from Venice with undiminished favour, in 1610, when a singular circumstance cast a cloud over his prospects. On his journey thither, passing some days at Augsburg, he had been persuaded, in an hour of cheerful relaxation, to write a few words in one of those common depositories of German wit to which they give the name of *Alba*. The sentence which he chose, certainly unworthy of him, was "*Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ,*" which required

## SIR HENRY WOTTON.

an English translation to give it even the merit of a pun, the utmost to which it could be entitled. More than six years had now passed, when Gasper Scioppius, a busy Romanist pamphleteer, happening to see this Album, published the ridiculous conceit in two several invectives against James, as a specimen of the religion and good faith practised by that Prince and his ambassador. James was highly offended, and Sir Henry found it necessary to apologize, which he did with great ingenuity, in a letter to the King, and another to Volser, one of the chief municipal officers of Augsburg, both of which he printed, and dispersed over Germany; but this trifle is said to have sunk deeply into the mind of James, and certain it is that Wotton remained unemployed, though not wholly unconsulted, for more than four succeeding years. At length in 1615 he was appointed ambassador to the United Provinces, from whence, after a few months' residence, he was recalled, and again dispatched to Venice. He returned in 1617, to solicit fruitlessly for the office of Secretary of State, vacant by the death of Sir Ralph Winwood, and was soon after sent Ambassador extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, and subsequently employed in several missions into Germany, on the unfortunate affairs of the King of Bohemia. The termination of these last labours was marked by a noble instance of his high spirit and disinterestedness. Frederic's hopes having been finally crushed by the issue of the battle of Prague, Wotton was preparing to quit Vienna, when the Emperor, at his audience of leave, gave him a jewel worth more than a thousand pounds, a sum to him, who was always necessitous, of very high importance. He presented it immediately after to an Italian Countess, at whose house he had been by the Imperial order lodged. Before his departure, the Emperor was informed of this remarkable fact, and expressed his displeasure by an official message, to which Wotton answered that "though he had received it from his Majesty with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia."

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

He was now once more appointed Ambassador to Venice, where he remained till the death of King James, when he was, to his great grief, superseded, and returned to sue for some permanent appointment the income from which might enable him to pass his declining years in tranquillity. From the hour in which he entered the public service he had been continually vexed by domestic necessities. Several thousand pounds were due to him for his expenses in his repeated embassies, and he had long solicited in vain, even for the smallest remittances. His annuity of one hundred marks, his sole patrimony, he had been obliged to sell early in his public life. The reversions of the place of one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, and of the Mastership of the Rolls, had been long promised to him, but the only vacancy which had occurred in the former office had been filled without any regard to his claim, and Sir Julius Cæsar was still Master of the Rolls. The following letter from Wotton to the Duke of Buckingham at that period will best shew the painful circumstances under which he suffered, as well as the ready wit which even so unpropitious a subject could not banish from his pen.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Having some days by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than myself, and withal to represent unto your Grace, whose noble patronage is my refuge when I find any occasion to bewail mine unhappy fortune, a thing which seemed strange to me. I am told, I know not how truly, that his Majesty hath already disposed of the Venetian ambassage to Sir Isaac Wake, from whose sufficiency if I should detract it would be but an argument of my own weakness. But that which herein doth touch me (I am loth to say in my reputation) surely much in my livelyhood, as lawyers speak, is that thereby, after seventeen years of foreign and continual employment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home ; much like those

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

seal fishes which sometimes, as they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shore when they awake: which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a master any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate business. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your love, so make me worthy in this of some part of your compassion. So I heartily rest,

“Your Grace’s &c.

“HENRY WOTTON.”

At length, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1625, he was appointed Provost of Eton College: a strange provision for a retired statesman, and yet the great Bacon, who was his cousin and friend, had been now his competitor for it. His extreme indigence prevented him for some time from settling himself even in this humble retreat, for his personal liberty was threatened by his creditors. He procured at last, through the means of a man who had been a servant to his brother, the Lord Wotton, and had obtained from that nobleman the office of a clerk of the King’s kitchen, five hundred pounds of his arrears from the Crown. A letter from him to his humble benefactor, praying his assistance, is extant. “My face,” says he, “for the want of this money, is wrinkled with care: procure it for me, and you shall the next day find me in my college with *Invidiæ Remedium* writ over my study door.” He could not spare from that sum even sufficient to put the necessary moveables into his apartments, and they were furnished by a contribution among the fellows of the college. Soon after he entered on his office he was ordained a deacon.

To enumerate the particulars of the discipline of a school would be idle, but Sir Henry Wotton’s conduct in his new station must not be passed over wholly unnoticed. He seems to have been the first reformer of that illiberal technicality which till his time

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

prevailed in education ; in other words, the first who discovered that justice and beneficence were at least as necessary as vigilance and severity ; and that it was possible, in the prosecution of youthful study, to mingle delight with labour. From his first entrance on his unaccustomed and humiliating charge he performed the functions which it required with as much ardour and zeal, and with as scrupulous a circumspection, as if it had been the first object of his ambition, and the constant employment of his life. His hours of leisure were passed in refined conversation, which no man better understood, or more entirely loved ; and in literary composition, in all parts of which he excelled. He had projected, and indeed commenced, some extensive works, but left them unfinished. Of those omissions none perhaps ought to be so much regretted as a *Life of Luther*, intended to include the history of the reformation in Germany, which he was prevailed on to lay aside by Charles the First, who persuaded him to undertake a history of England, by a promise of five hundred pounds a year while he should be engaged in it. Little however appears to have been written, and probably less was paid ; but we have enough from his pen to authorize us to rank him with the first writers of his age, in a small volume of his pieces in prose and verse, collected and published after his death, by his great admirer, and brother angler, the excellent Isaac Walton. The most perfect, in all respects, of these, is his treatise on architecture, as unalterably valuable for the soundness of its principles, as delightful for the lively familiarity of its style. The rest are “ *A View of the Life and Death of George, Duke of Buckingham* ;” a *Parallel between the characters of that nobleman and Robert, Earl of Essex* ; and an *Essay on the “ Difference and Disparity ” of their “ Estates and Conditions,*” which last however has been said, I know not on what authority, to have been written by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon : “ *A Panegyrick on King Charles the first, presented to that Prince on his return from Scotland in 1633 :*” “ *Moral Architecture, or a philosophical*

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

survey of Education :” together with “Aphorisms of Education ;” both which were framed for an intended large work on that arduous subject : “The Election of the New Duke of Venice, in 1618 ;” with some small devotional tracts ; several letters ; and a very few short poetical pieces.

Mortifying indeed is it that they should be so few, for the fame and value of gems of this nature are not enhanced by their rarity, and many even among polite readers have scarcely heard of Sir Henry Wotton as a poet ; yet who ever read his verses without regretting that his life had not been wholly dedicated to the muse ? No apology then can be necessary for ornamenting this memoir with two brief specimens. The first addressed “to his mistress, the Queen of Bohemia,” is perhaps unequalled for elegance and simplicity by any composition extant of the same order.

You, meaner beauties of the night,	You violets, that first appear,
That poorly satisfy our eyes	By your pure purple mantles known,
More by your number than your light,	Like the proud virgins of the year,
You common people of the skies,	As if the spring were all your own,
What are you when the sun shall rise ?	What are you when the rose is blown ?

You, curious chanters of the wood,	So, when my mistress shall be seen,
That warble forth dame Nature's lays,	In form, and beauty of her mind,
Thinking your voices understood	By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
By your weak accents, what's your praise	Tell me if she were not designed
When Philomel her voice shall raise ?	Th' eclipse and glory of her kind.

And how full of truth, and boldness, and beauty, is this living picture : the very carelessness with which it is drawn increases its value. He has inscribed it “A Description of Spring ; on a Bank, as I sate a fishing.”

And now all nature seemed in love ;	There stood my friend, with patient skill
The lusty sap began to move ;	Attending of his trembling quill.
New juice did stir th' embracing vines ;	Already were the eaves possest
And birds had drawn their Valentines.	With the swift pilgrim's daubed nest.
The jealous trout that low did lie,	The groves already did rejoice
Rose at a well dissembled fly.	In Philomel's triumphing voice.

## SIR HENRY WOTTON.

The showers were short ; the weather mild ; The fields and gardens were beset  
The morning fresh ; the evening smil'd. With tulip, crocus, violet :  
Joan takes her neat rubb'd pail, and now And now, though late, the modest rose  
She trips to milk the sand-red cow ; Did more than half a blush disclose.  
Where, for some sturdy foot-ball swain, Thus all look'd gay ; all full of cheer,  
Joan strokes a syllabub or twain. To welcome the new-liveried year.

Sir Henry Wotton held his office of Provost for fourteen years. Towards the close of his life he besought the King to grant him the reversion of the Mastership of the Savoy, but his death, or perhaps the exertion of some more powerful interest than he could employ, prevented his succeeding to that benefice. His health began to decline in the autumn of 1637, and on the first of October in that year he executed his last will, some legacies in which deserve to be particularly remembered. He bequeathed to the King his pictures of the four Dukes of Venice in whose time he was Ambassador to that State, painted by Edoardo Fialetto, together with a portrait of the Duke Leonardo Donato, and a picture of "the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their audience ;" and also his collection of the papers of the eminent statesman Sir Nicholas Throgmorton : to the Queen, "Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolus, in the best language of Tuscany : " to the Prince of Wales, the portrait of his Aunt, the Queen of Bohemia : to Archbishop Laud, a picture of divine Love : to Bishop Juxon, a picture of Heraclitus and Democritus : to Sir Francis Windebank, "the four seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour ;" to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, all his Italian books, and his viol de gamba : to Mr. Nicholas Pey, his "chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kind of uses ; in the lower box whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is : " to the library at Eton, all his manuscripts not before bequeathed. He desired to be buried in the chapel of the College, and that a plain marble stone should be placed over

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

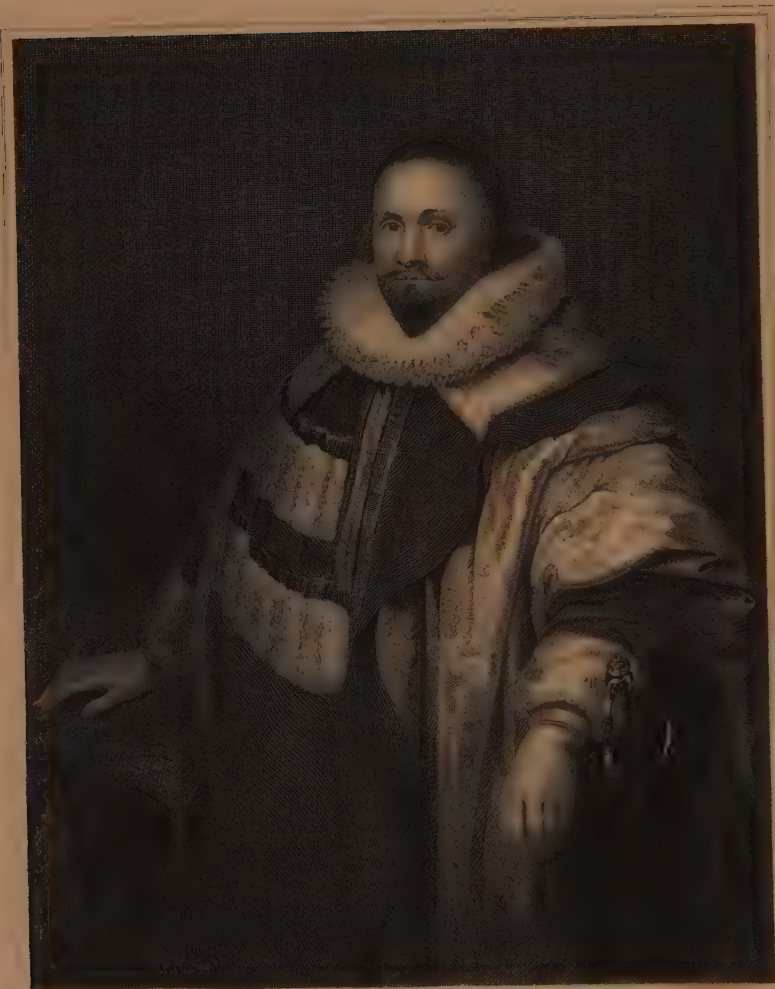
his remains, with the following inscription, a final proof at once of his wisdom and his wit—

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus Author,  
Disputandi Pruritus Ecclesiarum Scabies.  
Nomen alias quære.

He survived however for two years, till at length, worn out by repeated attacks of fever and asthma, he departed on or about the fifth of December, 1639. Sir Henry Wotton was never married.







Engraved by W. H. Motte

THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY.

OB. 1640.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF CLARENDON.





# THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY,

LORD KEEPER.

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FEW persons of extraordinary and highly deserved eminence have been less spoken of in history than this nobleman ; but it is not difficult to discover the reasons. He possessed a sound judgment, and honest heart, and an equable temper ; a manly, but well-governed pride, which equally disdained the servilities of faction and favouritism ; and an innate modesty, which kept jealousy and envy always at a distance. A pure conscience had dictated to him that the life of a judge should be almost wholly confined to his court and his closet, and he withheld himself therefore as much as possible from any concern in the affairs of the state. Public men of his character receive the reward of their merits in the praise of their grateful contemporaries, and may be said, to use a familiar phrase, to have but a life interest in their fame. His memory, however, has been celebrated by Lord Clarendon, in no common strain of eulogy ; and I find in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum, a small, anonymous, and I believe hitherto unpublished and unquoted manuscript, intitled, “Of Thomas Lord Coventrie, late Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale of England, some notable observations in the course of his life, and ultimum vale to the world.” But for those two sources of intelligence, he would have been nearly unknown to us.

His family derived its surname from the town of Coventry, and its fortune was made by John Coventry, who was born there, became a mercer in London, and served the office of Lord Mayor

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

in 1425. Thomas, a junior descendant from that John, was a lawyer of eminence, and rose to the degree of a Judge of the Common Pleas. He married Margaret, daughter and heir to a gentleman of the name of Jefferies, of Croome d'Abitot, in the county of Worcester, still the chief seat of the Earls of Coventry, and to them the subject of this memoir was eldest son and heir. He was educated under the eye of his father till the age of fourteen, when he became, in Michaelmas term, 1592, a gentleman commoner of Baliol College, where he remained for three years, and then came to London to study and practise the law, and presently gained the highest reputation in that faculty. "He was of the Inner House of Court," (the Inner Temple,) says the Sloane MS. "and no sooner, by an indefatigable diligence in study, attained the barr, but he appeared in the lustre of his profession, above the common expectation of men of that forme, which he made good in the manifestation of his exquisite abilities." It was several years, however, before any mark of public favour was bestowed on him, and it is very probable that the profits of his extensive practice had induced him to decline many; at length, on the seventeenth of November, 1616, he was elected Recorder of London; on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, was appointed Solicitor General; and on the sixteenth received the honour of Knighthood at Theobalds. In 1620 he was promoted to the place of Attorney-general, and, soon after the accession of Charles the First, Buckingham, having prevailed on the King to dismiss his old enemy, Bishop Williams, recommended Coventry to succeed to the station, which had been so long held by that prelate, of Lord Keeper, to which he was appointed on the first of November, 1625. His letter to the Duke, signifying his acceptance of that high office, cannot but be esteemed, in every point of consideration, a singular curiosity. The original remains in the Harleian collection.

"May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Grace,

"I have, according to that liberty and favour w<sup>ch</sup> yow were

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

pleased to vouchsafe me, seriously thought of that greate and weighty business w<sup>ch</sup> you propounded att Southampton concerning myself, and do now returne to yo<sup>r</sup> Grace that humble and dutifull answere w<sup>ch</sup> in this space my carefull thoughts have ministred ; wherein I must beginn w<sup>th</sup> a syncere and harty acknowledgemēt of that abundant goodnes of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> that hath bene pleased to cast his eye upon so meane a servant, and so highly to accept those poore services w<sup>ch</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> a faythefull hart, but a weake hand, I have desyred to perform to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and his blessed father, as to think of so emment an advancement for me, his unworthy minister. And I do likewise acknowledg to yo<sup>r</sup> Grace all the duty and thanks that can take hold of a faythefull and true hart, that both in this, and in all other occasions that have concerned me, have, out of yo<sup>r</sup> owne noblenes, interceded for me to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and his royall father. And, howsoever the greatnes and weight of that place, beyond mine ability, have putt me into some perplexity of thoughts, yet, from yo<sup>r</sup> first mocōn, I did, and ev<sup>r</sup> shall, blesse and magnifie God, that hath moved the hart of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and yo<sup>r</sup> Grace to be so gracious and indulgente towards me.

“ Now, concerning the matter itself, I did at Southampton syncerely propound to yo<sup>r</sup> Grace those reasons, proceeding from myne owne weaknes, w<sup>ch</sup> might move me to declyne it, and might move his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to think of a more able and complete man to undergoe so weighty a service : and, having synce that tyme thought thereof again and again, I fynd nothing to abate in me the sense of myne owne infirmities, or to deliv<sup>r</sup> me from my feares, but his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> thryce greate grace and goodnes, and the assurance I have of yo<sup>r</sup> most noble and constant favour. But these, together w<sup>th</sup> that dutyfull obediens w<sup>ch</sup> I owe to all his Ma<sup>tie's</sup> comādements, bredd a great conflict in myself against those disabilityes whereof I am most conscious to myself, and have produced in me this resolucion ; to lay myself in all humility and submission at the feet of my Sovereigne, to dispose of me as shall seeme best to his owne princely wisdome and goodnes ; w<sup>ch</sup> if it

LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

be that way as yo<sup>r</sup> Grace told me his Highnes did inclyne, I shall dutifully obey, and faythefully undergoe it; my hope being that God, and the King's Ma<sup>tie</sup>, will beare w<sup>th</sup> my infirmities, and accept my true hart, and willing endeavour: and, if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall determyne otherwise, as it may be much better for his servyce and the publike, so it wilbe more agreeable to my course of lief and disposi<sup>c</sup>on, and to that more private way w<sup>ch</sup> my thoughts have bene addicted to; and, w<sup>ch</sup> way ever it fall, I wilbe, as I am most bounden,

“Yo<sup>r</sup> Grace's most humble and faythefull servant,

“*Kingsbury,*

“THOMAS COVENTRYE.

“13 *Septēbr*, 1625.”

Some fugitive political pieces of his time, or shortly after, have placed him among the creatures of Buckingham, but the imputation is wholly unsupported by any respectable historical evidence. In the letter before us, written on an occasion so likely to produce, and perhaps almost to justify, the hyperbolical flattery which was so much the fashion of that day, we find only the manly expressions of a genuine gratitude, and a respectful courtesy. But we can have no better proof of the untruth of the charge than from an anecdote in the pamphlet of Sir Anthony Weldon, who never failed to vilify, and sometimes very falsely, those whom the Duke peculiarly favoured, or by whom he was notoriously courted. Buckingham, according to that writer, had endeavoured to persuade the King to grant to him the dormant appointment of Lord High Constable, an office of such exorbitant power that royalty itself had been known to tremble at it. The Lord Keeper had honestly advised the King to refuse; “but Buckingham's ambition,” continues Weldon, “would not be so bounded; for, upon the opposing it by Coventry, he peremptorily thus accosted him, saying ‘Who made you, Coventry, Lord Keeper?’ He replied, ‘The King.’ Buckingham sur-replied, ‘It's false, 'twas I did make you; and you shall know that I, who made you, can, and will, unmake you.’ Coventry thus answered him, ‘Did I conceive I held my place by your favour, I would

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

presently unmake myself, by rendering the seal to his Majesty.' Then Buckingham in a scorn and fury flung from him, saying, 'You shall not keep it long;' and surely, had not Felton prevented him, he had made good his word." The few enemies, indeed, that he had were made so by his independence and his sincerity. The Marquis of Hamilton, "whose interest in the King's affections," to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and who had more out-faced the law in bold projects, and pressures on the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do;" never forgave his obstinate refusal to affix the great seal to an illegal patent for an impost invented by the Marquis; and he was hated by the Earl of Manchester, who had been bred a lawyer, and who, according to the same noble writer, "was unhappily too much used as a check upon the Lord Keeper," when he perplexed the counsels and designs of the King's misadvisers by inconvenient objections in law.

But the character given of him by Lord Clarendon, in his glorious review of the court and ministers of Charles, however long, and already many times reprinted, must be repeated here, without diminution.

"He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom, and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place, but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning men, justled each the other too much. He knew the temper, disposition, and genius of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many who stood at a distance thought he was not active and stout enough in opposing these innovations; for, though by his place he presided in all publick counsels, and was most sharp-sighted in the consequence of things, yet he was seldom known to speak in

matters of state, which he well knew were for the most part concluded before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgement could well have comprehended; nor indeed freely in any thing but what immediately and plainly concern'd the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procur'd references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity but a severity, and even some morosity, yet it was so happily temper'd, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvelously recommended him to all men of all degrees; and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners."

"He had in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believ'd, the only justifiable design of eloquence; so that though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclin'd to gratify when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying, yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will and ill wishes. But then this happy temper, and these good faculties, rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnish'd him with any fast and unshaken friends, who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with: so that he was a man rather exceedingly liked than passionately loved; inso-much that it never appeared that he had any one friend in court of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to; and therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as much as he could, and stood upon his defence, without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs which he knew well he had no power to hinder,

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude, his security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the king; and he died in a season most opportune, in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world."

To remove from this character any possible suspicion which might arise of prejudices derived from private friendship, political agreement, or professional intimacy, let us hear the censures of the Sloane MS., written, as we shall see, by one who conceived himself to have received a cruel injury from the object of his praise. It discloses too, and with a pen of no small power, many particulars which Lord Clarendon has omitted.

"The character of his outward man was this—Hee was of a middle stature; somewhat broad and roundfaced; of hayre black; and upright in his comportment and gesture; of complexion sanguine, and of a comely aspect and presence. Hee was of a very fyne and grave elocution, in a kinde of gracefull lipping; so that when nature might seeme to cast something of imperfec<sup>o</sup>n on his speech, on due examina<sup>o</sup>n, shee added a grace to the perfec<sup>o</sup>n of his delivery; for his words rather flowed from him in a kind of native pleasingnes then by any artificiall helpe or assistance. Hee was of a very liberall accesse, and to all addresses presented, affable; and, as hee was of a very quick apprehen<sup>o</sup>n, soe was he of an exceeding judicious and expeditious dispatch in all affairs, either of state or of the trybunall; of hearing patient and attentive, and, that w<sup>ch</sup> is not usually incident to p<sup>er</sup>sons of dignitie and place, seldom in any distempered mood, or mo<sup>o</sup>n of choller; and it was none of his meanest comenda<sup>o</sup>ns that he was an helper, or coadjutor, of counsell at the barr, and understood better what they would have said in the case than what they sometymes did say for their clyents; soe that there appeared in his constituc<sup>o</sup>n a kind of naturall and unaffected insinua<sup>o</sup>n, to creep into the good opinion of all men, rather than any affected greatnes to discountenance any, but

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

never rashly to discontent many. Through the whole course of his life his fortune was so obsequious that it seemed she alwayes waited upon him with a convoy, for in all the steps of his rise he had ever an even and smooth passage, without any rubb or mate in the check. For his erudition, and acquisitions of art, though all knew hee was learned in the sciences, and most profound in his profession, yet, such was the happines of his constellaçon, that he rather leaned to his native strength then depended on any artificiall relyance. Without doubt hee was of a most solid and imoveable temper, and voyd of all pride and ostentation ; neither was he ever in any umbrage or disfavour with his Prince, an argument both of his wisdome and sinceritie ; neither in any fraction with his equalls worthie of exception, for that of my Lord of Suffolk's business was an act of his that told the world in how little esteeme hee held greatnes that would justle and stand in competition with justice ; and it is remaining among the best of his memorialls that hee alwayes stood impregnable, and not to bee ovcome by might. Amongst all and the many felicities of his life, that of his short sicknes, and the willing embracement of death with open armes, were of the most remarkable observaçon, for it is our finis qui coronat opus, and changes our mortalitie into that of imortall glorie : for his sicknes was not contynued with any lingring, or loathsome languishing, nor soe precipitate as that it bereaved him of the abilitie of disposing of his estate to the contentment of his posteritie, or hindred the composing of his thoughts to another and better worlde."

"If in the briefe collection of the state of this noble man's fortune it may fall into suspicçon that I had some relaçon to his p̃son, or in some one respect or other was obliged to his . . . . , I assume the liberty to tender this testimonie to the world—that I nev<sup>r</sup> had refference at any tyme to his service, onely in such addresses as fell unto my lott as a suppliant I had ever the honour of a free accesse, with libertie to speake as I could, and as occasion, and the cause required ; but, that which best may satisfie the suspicions that I have given myself the least scope of

## LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

partialitie or flattery, either in favour or affec<sup>o</sup>n, it is that I beleeeve noe subject ever suffred in that degree in losse of estate as I myselfe have endured, and onely by a rule of his owne, in suspending my sute in the Starchamber, the cause depending before in chancery, untill it had there a fynall determyna<sup>o</sup>n, whereby I was debarred," &c.

"He enjoyed his place," says Lord Clarendon, "with universal reputation," (or, rather, to use the words of Lloyd, who bestows on him a meagre page or two, "his place enjoyed him") "for nearly sixteen years, and sure justice was never better administered." Of all public men, in all times, he seems to have left the most unblemished reputation. The Sloane MS. mentions two grounds of aspersion against him, and two only, and defends him against each; the one, an imputation of his conduct towards some individual suitor, which has been long since forgotten, and of which no hint is anywhere else to be met with; the other a mere rumour, founded on envious and uncharitable inference. "He had a noble fame," says the MS., "not that he passed unaccused, for envy is a constant follower and persecutor of all greatness, and detrac<sup>o</sup>n an utter enemy of desert. The cheif charge against him was that of Bonham Norton, wherein the best and most impartiall judgements consent that his accuser and clyent was much to blame in the error of his accompt between a judge of equitye and a quondam advocate, and in a case where the accuser had before received ample satisfac<sup>o</sup>n by the advantage and rigor of the law." And, in reply to those who had whispered that so great a fortune as his could scarcely have been honestly acquired, we find this passage—"Howsoever, thus much I say: that, could he have been lymmed to the lyfe, and I believe it, wee should not find in him much of blemish; and that the mayne objection vulgarly inferred on the amassing of his wealth could not well be done in justice, might be answered to the full in this—that, his patrimonie considered, it was the gainefullness of the places he past through, together with the great fortunes of his own, and his sonne's, intermarriages, all concurring, and falling

#### LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

into a frugall family, might soon wipe away all imputaçons of the most malignant, and perswade even detracc'on itself to suffer him to rest in peace, and, as we may charitably beleeve, in glory, as his posteritie surviving remaines in his honor and fortunes." Wood quotes a single line against him from an infamous libel published during the usurpation.

The Lord Keeper Coventry sat for between two and three years in his high office before he was advanced to the peerage, but on the tenth of April, 1628, the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Coventry, of Aylesborough, in the county of Worcester. He died, at Durham House, in the Strand, on the fourteenth of January, 1639-40, and was buried at Croome d'Abitot, having been twice married; first, to Sarah, daughter to Edward Sebright, of Besford, in that county, and sister to Sir Edward Sebright, Bart., by whom he had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir John Hare, of Stow Bardolph, in Norfolk, and an only son, Thomas, his successor, of whom his mother died in childbirth. "He married and interred his first love," says the Sloane MS., "in the fruyt of his primogenitus, now surviving, a Baron and Peere of the realme." He remarried to Elizabeth, daughter to John Aldersey, of Spurstow, in Cheshire, and widow of William Pitchford, a citizen, and, as the same MS. informs us, "lovely, young, rich, and of good fame." She brought him four sons, John, Francis, Henry, and William, of whom the first, third, and fourth, became men of high distinction in the state; and as many daughters, all highly celebrated for their talents and their virtues, particularly the youngest, Dorothy, who, among several eminent persons, seems to stand the first candidate for the pious honour of having written "The Whole Duty of Man," together with the several other valuable treatises acknowledged by the anonymous author of that inestimable work. Those ladies were Anne, married to Sir William Savile, of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, Bart., father, by her, to George, Marquis of Halifax; Mary, to Henry Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, from which match the Marquisses of

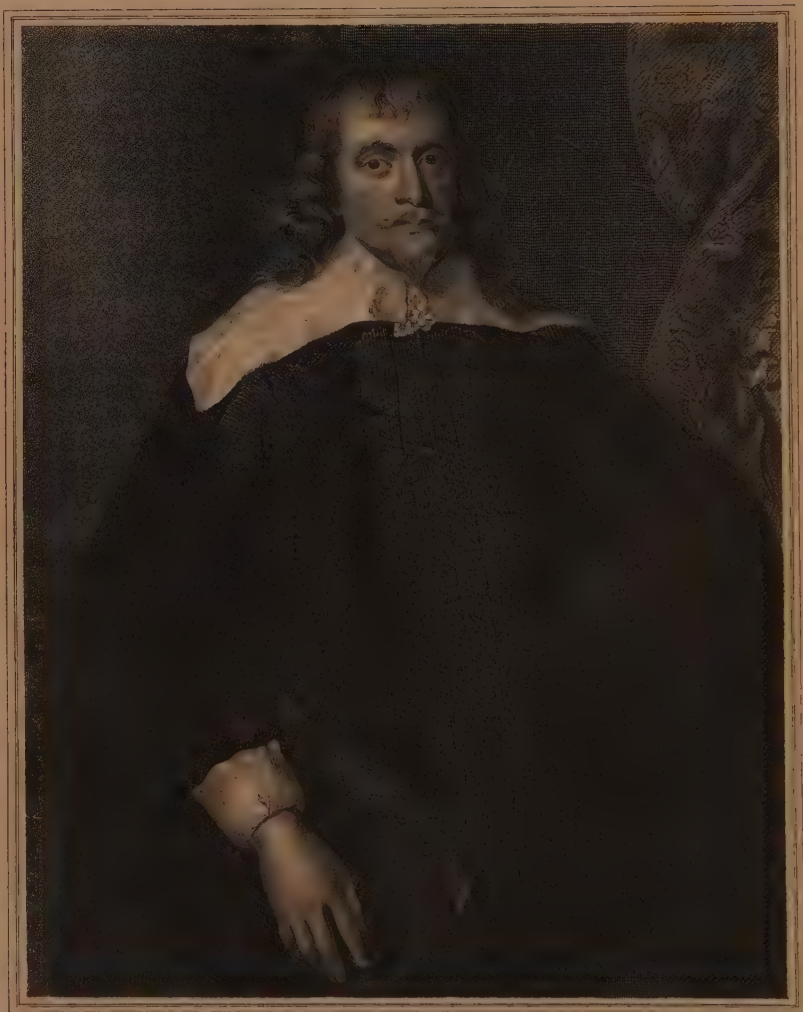
#### LORD KEEPER COVENTRY.

Bath are descended ; Margaret, to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury ; and Dorothy, to Sir John Pakington, of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, Bart.

Lord Coventry published two or three small pieces which are scarcely worth naming—"An Answer to the Petition against Recusants"—"Perfect and exact Directions to all those that desire to know the true and just Fees of all the Offices belonging to the Court of Common Pleas, Chancery," &c. Many of his speeches in Parliament are also to be met with in print ; and a MS. remains among the Sloane papers, written by him, conjointly with Sir Julius Cæsar, intituled "Ordinances for the redress of sundry errors, defaults, and abuses, in the High Court of Chancery."







Engraved by J. Cochran.

FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1641.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.





# FRANCIS RUSSELL,

FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

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FRANCIS, second Earl of Bedford, the brightest ornament of his eminent family, had four sons, of whom the two elder, Edward and John, left no male issue : the third, Francis, had an only son, Edward, the successor to his grandfather's honours and estates, who died also childless. William, the fourth son, who highly distinguished himself in the office of Lord Deputy in Ireland, and was created by King James the First, Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Long, of Shengay Hall in the county of Cambridge, and had by her an only son, Francis, who, on the third of May, 1627, succeeded his first-cousin, Earl Edward, and is the subject of this memoir.

Of the date of this nobleman's birth, the form of his education, and the conduct of his private life, we have no intelligence. He had arrived at a mature age when he inherited the dignities and vast possessions of his ancestors, and the first step which he made in the sight of his country displayed a character equally sagacious, enterprising, active, and resolute. It was in the project for draining those fens called the Great Level, and afterwards, in honour of him, the Bedford Level, which extend into the counties of Northampton, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Lincoln. Of that stupendous work he was the principal undertaker, and on the first of September, 1630, articles were signed for the performance of it, and ninety-five thousand acres of the inundated land were allotted to him, and to the few whom his example had

encouraged to take inferior shares in the enterprise, as the uncertain reward for their labours. In the autumn of 1637 the Earl had expended on it the immense sum of one hundred thousand pounds; and on the twelfth of October, in that year, it was adjudged at a session of sewers, held at Peterborough, that the work was defective, and the grant of land was reduced to forty thousand acres. He persisted, however, with unabated spirit till the horrors which disfigured the latter years of Charles's reign had put to flight the arts of peace; but the undertaking was resumed in 1649, by his son and successor, to whom, and those concerned with him, the ninety-five thousand acres were regranted in 1653, and on the second of March it was decreed at another session, held at Ely, that it had been at length completely accomplished. All the circumstances of this great enterprise, so important in the history of agriculture and mechanics in England, as well as to the fortunes of this family, may be found in Sir William Dugdale's "History of embanking and draining."

In the great contest between the King and the Parliament, such a man as the Earl of Bedford could not have remained an inactive spectator. His interests, as well as his honour, seemed to require that he should take an active part in it, and his capacious and fervid mind, suddenly detached from the contemplation of a mighty object in private œconomy, pined for employment. He engaged with warmth, not to say violence, with the popular party, and presently became the leader of it in the House of Peers. "He was there," says the Earl of Clarendon, "the great contriver and principal agent of those who were for asserting the liberty of the subject; but a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the government; and it quickly appeared that he only intended to make himself and his friends great at court, not at all to lessen the court itself." In the furtherance of this view, he carried himself towards the King with the most profound respect, and with all professions of loyalty and zeal for his service; and contrived to live in a decent and grave familiarity with the ministers, while in parliament he decried their measures

#### FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

and their motives with the utmost eagerness. So too, with regard to ecclesiastical matters, while he openly espoused the puritan faction, the great leader of which, Pym, was his most intimate and confidential associate, as well in private as public life, he was a friend, or at least not an enemy, to the legal establishment. "The Earl of Bedford," says Lord Clarendon in another place, "had no desire that there should be any alteration in the government of the church, and had always lived toward my Lord of Canterbury himself with all respect and reverence, and frequently visited and dined with him; subscribed liberally to the repair of St. Paul's church, and seconded all pious undertakings; though, it is true, he did not discountenance notoriously those of the clergy who were unconformable." This nobleman, in fine, who had the fortune to live in an age when patriotism was less frequently professed than practised, may perhaps be properly esteemed the main inventor of a method of opposition too familiar to us of later days, but which then charmed some by its novelty, and others by its apparent impartiality, while it gained some credit with all parties, because there had not yet been time to detect its selfishness and insincerity.

Charles, who possessed more penetration than any of his ministers, for Strafford had been lately dragged from his councils, easily discerned the Earl's motives, and endeavoured to profit by them. He secretly determined to form a new administration, composed chiefly of the most important men in the discontented party, and to place the Earl of Bedford at their head. In the mean time the Earl conducted with the most active assiduity the affairs of his faction, in which he possessed more authority, and was trusted with more confidence, than any other of its leaders. He had the chief management of the treaty with the Scottish Commissioners at Ripon, in 1640, on which the Parliament had built so much, and which in fact produced such important results; and, on his return to London, was the foremost both in public and private, in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford. Archbishop Laud, in his "History of his own Troubles and Trial," says,

“This Lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford’s death ; and I know where he, with other Lords, before the Parliament sat down, determined to have his blood.” This passage has been charged with ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, because it has been since discovered that the Earl of Bedford had about that time found occasion, as will be presently seen, to engage for Strafford’s security ; but of this Laud, who when he made the statement, was a close prisoner, was probably wholly unconscious ; or if, indeed, he had been informed of it, there was nothing in his knowledge of that fact to affect the correctness or veracity of his report of the Earl of Bedford’s former disposition. The motives which induced the Earl to alter that disposition, and to reconcile himself to the royal interest, are, with an admirable clearness and conciseness, thus explained by Lord Clarendon ; and the detail furnishes matter of high curiosity for the history of a mode of party intrigue which was then in its infancy.

“The Earl of Bedford secretly undertook to his Majesty that the Earl of Strafford’s life should be preserved, and to procure his revenue to be settled as amply as any of his progenitors, the which he intended so really that, to my knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour to obtain an act for the setting up the excise in England, as the only means to advance the King’s profit. This Lord was the greatest person of interest in all the popular party, being of the best estate and best understanding of the whole number, and therefore most likely to govern the rest. He was, besides, of great civility, and much more good nature than any of the other. And therefore the King, resolving to do his business with that party by him, resolved to make him Lord High Treasurer of England in the place of the Bishop of London, who was as willing to lay down the office as any body was to take it up ; and to gratify him the more, at his desire, intended to make Mr. Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr. St. John his Solicitor General, all which hath been touched before ; as also Mr. Hollis was to be Secretary of State ; the Lord Say Master of the Wards ; and the Lord Kimbolton to be Lord Privy Seal,

#### FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

after the death of his father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have offices when they fell."

This design, from the fruition of which at that particular point of time the happiest effects might have been expected, was suddenly frustrated by the Earl's death. In the midst of his negotiations with Charles, he was attacked, on the first or second of May, 1641, by a virulent small-pox, which terminated his life on the ninth of that month, the very day on which the King, by commission, passed the bill of attainder against Strafford. "God," says Laud, with his usual vehemence, "would not let him live to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the bill for the Earl of Strafford's death was not signed till night." Lord Clarendon, with becoming coolness and impartiality, tells us that "he fell sick within a week after the bill of attainder was sent up to the Lords' house, and died shortly after, much afflicted with the passion and fury which he perceived his party inclined to, insomuch as he declared to some of near trust to him, that he feared the rage and madness of this Parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief to the kingdom than it had ever sustained by the long intermission of Parliaments. He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, for want of resolution, of being carried into violent ones if his advice were not submitted to; and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his death not unseasonable, as well to his fame as his fortune, and that it rescued him as well from some possible guilt as from some visible misfortunes, which men of all conditions have since undergone."

This nobleman married Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, and by her, who survived him till the twenty-ninth of January, 1653-4, had issue four sons and four daughters. William, his eldest son and successor, was, in his old age, in 1694, advanced to the Dukedom, and from him the present Duke is lineally descended: Francis, the second, married, but died childless in his father's life-time: John, the third son, who

FRANCIS RUSSELL, FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

was bred to military service, died unmarried in 1681: and Edward, the youngest, left five sons, of whom the second, Edward, was, for his distinguished naval services, created Earl of Orford, &c. in 1697. The daughters of Earl Francis were Catherine, married to Robert Greville, Lord Brooke: Anne, to George Digby, Earl of Bristol: Margaret, first, to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle; secondly, to Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, and, thirdly, to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland. Diana, the youngest daughter, became wife to Francis, Lord Newport, ancestor to the extinct Earls of Bradford.





Engraved by H. Robinson.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD.

OB. 1641.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE EARL OF EGREMONT.





# THOMAS WENTWORTH,

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.



KING Charles the First, in his celebrated apology (for doubtless it was the offspring of his heart and pen) published under the title of *Eikon Basiliké*, says of this nobleman, “I looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state; for those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors.” The just censure conveyed by these words is expressed with a kind and noble delicacy. Strafford possessed deep wisdom, and the highest honour; but the one was clouded by choler, and the other by a vindictive spirit. In the absence of those unhappy weaknesses, he had an exact sense of pure and genuine dignity. It was a principle which infused itself into all he thought, or said, or did; which attended him in courts, in councils, and in private society; increased at once the elegance of his sentiments, and the grandeur and justness of his conceptions; shed an equal grace on his eloquence and demeanour in the Senate, and on his domestic conversation and economy; added weight to his advice, and vigour to his action. This, in milder times, would have been in such a man a virtue; but when a mutual interchange of condescension was necessary between King and people; when parties were to be reconciled, and confidence restored; and the

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

changing events and humours of each day required a pliancy of manners, as well as temper, to meet their various irregularities; its effects were highly pernicious. No public minister ever sought the welfare of the State with more constant sincerity, or with less regard to his own private interests, and few have been so ill requited: for he, as well as his royal master, perished in the defence of the political establishment, or, to use a term of modern invention, of the constitution, of that day, and posterity has not yet fully rendered justice either to his conduct or his motives.

He descended from the senior line of one of the most ancient and powerful families of the order of English gentry; was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire, by Anne, daughter of Robert Atkinson, of Stowell, in Gloucestershire, an eminent Barrister, and a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn; and was born in that gentleman's house, in Chancery Lane, on the thirteenth of April, 1593. His education, the early part of which he seems to have received at home, was completed at St. John's College, in Cambridge, on leaving which he passed nearly two years in France, not extending his travels beyond that country, and returned in the spring of 1613. His father died towards the conclusion of the following year, when he inherited, together with the title of Baronet, an estate to the full annual amount of six thousand pounds, largely charged however with portions for younger children. A man of such property, possessed too of splendid talents, was not likely to remain long undistinguished, at least by provincial honours. In 1615, Sir John, afterwards Lord, Savile, who had misconducted himself in his post of Custos Rotulorum for Yorkshire, was obliged to relinquish that office, to which Sir Thomas Wentworth was immediately appointed. Savile ascribed his disgrace to his successor, and, by some channel of interest now forgotten, prevailed on the Duke of Buckingham to move the King to reinstate him, and the favourite wrote to Wentworth soliciting him for that purpose to resign. He replied by a long and spirited statement, and Buck-

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

ingham conceded for the time, but the affair produced a mortal enmity between them, which subsisted till the Duke's death, and perhaps contributed not a little to form the line of political conduct first adopted by Wentworth. In 1621 he was chosen to represent the County of York, and again in 1625, in the first Parliament of Charles the First. He resolutely opposed in the House of Commons all those measures of the Court the doubtful legality of which was now discussed in that assembly with a boldness and freedom hitherto unknown, and was already considered as a chief leader, which indeed was every where his natural station, of the party which he had espoused, when that Parliament was dissolved. He was disqualified from sitting in the next by the appointment of High Sheriff, which was forced on him purposely to that effect; and had no sooner entered on the duties of his unwelcome office than a writ was put into his hands, even while he was presiding on the bench in a County Court, to remove him from his place of Custos Rotulorum. The speech by which in the instant he disclosed this insult to the Magistrates and others then assembled is published in the "Strafford Papers," and furnishes an admirable specimen of the greatness of mind, ready wit, and powerful expression, which always distinguished him.

These injuries, which had been inflicted at the suggestion of Buckingham, excited Wentworth's resentment to the utmost, and naturally sharpened his opposition to those public measures in the direction of which his enemy was known to have so large a share. In the close of the succeeding year, on his steadfast refusal to pay the sum charged on him by a loan levied without the authority of Parliament, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and afterwards restricted for several months to a space not exceeding two miles round the town of Dartford, in Kent. Soon after his release however he was a third time elected by the County of York, to serve in the Parliament which met in the spring of 1628, and renewed his efforts for the popular cause in the House of Commons with much apparent zeal, particularly in forwarding, by

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

the utmost exertions of argument and eloquence, the memorable Petition of Right, which it is well known was granted by Charles in its fullest extent. He now declared his opinion that the country ought to be satisfied with the concessions that it had obtained from the Crown; suddenly abandoned a party the violence of which he too well knew, to expect that it should yield to his suggestions; and offered his services to the King, who, pressed on all sides by difficulties, received him with open arms; forms of reconciliation passed between him and Buckingham, over whom the assassin's dagger then hung; and, on the twenty-second of July, 1628, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron, and on the tenth of the following December promoted to that of Viscount Wentworth. Within very few weeks after those dignities had been conferred on him, he was appointed Lord President of the North, Lieutenant of the County of York, and a Privy Counsellor.

These extraordinary circumstances excited, as might be expected, in the two great opposing parties, censures which agreed in nothing but the vehemence with which they were uttered. Wentworth was branded by the popular faction with the odium of a traitor and an apostate, while the royalists held, or affected to hold him as a politician wholly guided by wisdom and virtue, and doubtless, as is usual in such cases, he was misrepresented by each. He had in fact been always earnestly attached to monarchy. The splendour that surrounds a throne; the air of generosity which gilds the manners of a court; the dignified submission of counsellors who own but a single superior; and the power necessarily annexed to the station of such ministers; were all well suited to the loftiness of his ardent mind. On the other hand, the part which he had hitherto taken in the House of Commons was as consistent with the strictest loyalty as it was with true patriotism and with common sense, nor had parliament yet been disgraced by the practice of bartering opposition for favour and employment. It is an historical fact that he quitted the popular party at the precise moment when the power of the Crown had been

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

reduced to a wholesome standard, and all the just claims of the people satisfied. There was a remarkable agreement between the most important features of the King's character, and his own; and it was always allowed, even by Charles's most implacable enemies, that he was a Prince in whose service there was no danger of derogation from honour. Rushworth, a writer not to be suspected of partiality to Wentworth, speaking of his accession to the royal cause, says—"His arguments for the rights of the subject were mixed with so dutiful an appearance of the highest concern and honour both for his King and country as made him generally esteemed, and begot him an interest in his sovereign; whereupon Sir Richard Weston, about that time made Lord Treasurer, with much application sought his acquaintance and friendship. After their first interview they engaged in a near familiarity; and soon after it happened that in some conferences touching the popular humour then appearing in the House of Commons, and the measures they were on tending to no good, Sir Thomas Wentworth proposed such candid and rational measures to be followed in that exigence of affairs as ever after caused his judgment on all occasions to be much valued, and his advice pursued." Lord Clarendon, however, with that candour which, amidst so many perfections, is the chief ornament of his noble history, thus admits that the change in his political conduct was not wholly uninfluenced by private motives. "His first inclinations and addresses to the Court were only to establish his greatness in the country, where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy Counsellor, and officer at Court; but his first attempts were so prosperous that he contented not himself with being secure from this Lord's power in the country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in Court, and so sent him down, a most abject disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North." To quit the subject of Wentworth's political

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

change, I will observe that the strongest presumption of its sincerity may be fairly founded on the strict uniformity of his subsequent public conduct.

The King, now deprived of Buckingham, received Lord Wentworth into the most unlimited confidence. On the tenth of April, 1632, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Falkland having been removed from that office to make way for him, as was soon after Lord Wilmot from the station of General in chief, which was also conferred on him. He was invested with powers never before granted to any governor of that country, the exercise of which was left almost wholly to his discretion. Before his departure, he drew in his closet that system by which he proposed to govern a distracted and discontented country. It was full of wisdom and boldness, and received the King's implicit approbation. He prevailed on Charles to permit him to call a Parliament; and the Irish, who had not for many years been flattered by that sign of freedom, hailed him as the restorer of their independence, and granted supplies with an alacrity equal to the reluctance which then impeded all financial measures at home. All parties have agreed that Ireland had never before been so wisely or so beneficently governed, and the Deputy himself, with an honest pride, boasted of the success of his unremitting endeavours: "Very confident I am," says he, in a letter to the Lord Danby, "that his Majesty hath now made himself more absolute master of this kingdom by his wisdom than any of his progenitors were ever able to do by their swords."

Amidst the general conciliation, however, inspired by the mildness and prudence of his administration, instances of severity occurred which have left a stain on his memory. Patient amidst the difficulties and solitudes of the government of a State, Wentworth lost his magnanimity on occasions of personal offence, and even made his state authority an instrument of private vengeance. One of his gentlemen ushers, and an officer in his own regiment of horse, a Mr. Annesley, related to the Lord Mountnorris, having accidentally hurt him in removing a stool

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

on which he had rested his foot, in the ceremony of meeting the Parliament, Lord Mountnorris, a few days after, said at the Lord Chancellor's table, alluding to some reprehension which his kinsman had previously received from Wentworth on a matter of military discipline, "perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which the Lord Deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother who would not take such a revenge." These words were interpreted as conveying a threat against the Deputy's life. A formal accusation to that effect was submitted to a council of war, Lord Mountnorris happening to have the command of a regiment. He was convicted, on an overstrained application of some articles of a military code lately instituted; stripped of his military rank and offices; and condemned to be shot or beheaded, at the pleasure of the Lord Deputy. The Viscount Loftus, Chancellor of Ireland, having, in a moment of irritation, charged him at the Council Board with some partial interference in a suit concerning the Chancellor's family then pending before that body, and, on the Deputy's denial, having rejoined "I wish to God I had not found it so," was subjected to a tedious imprisonment; endeavoured in vain to obtain his release by the most humiliating apology perhaps ever penned by a great public officer; and fell, in the end, into utter disgrace. On these misapplications of authority Lord Clarendon remarks that Wentworth "had been compelled, upon reasons of state, to exercise many acts of power, and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Mountnorris; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that in a time of peace had been ever executed by any subject."

In June, 1636, he returned for a time to England; and rendered to the King, in Council, an exact statement of all the matters of his government, together with his further designs for the benefit of Ireland, and for the advancement of the royal interests there,

all which was received with expressions of the highest approbation and gratitude. He took this opportunity to renew to the King his suit for an Earldom, for he had asked fruitlessly for that dignity two years before, and now prefaced his request by observing that such a mark of his master's favour would silence his enemies, and be an apology for those acts of violence which have been just now spoken of, and some others with which he had been charged; but he was again refused. Charles's answers to his applications have been preserved, and are pieces of considerable interest: the first, for the firmness with which that accomplished and unfortunate Prince asserts his resolution to be the sole dispenser of his own favours; the second, for sound sense and argument: and both, for elegant conciseness of expression.

——“Now I will begin,” says Charles, in concluding a letter of business from Hampton Court, of the twenty-third of October, 1634, “concerning your suit, though last come to my hands. And, first, for the form; that is to say, in coming to me not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting any body with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any. This I do not only commend, but recommend to you to follow always hereafter, at least in what concerns your own particular; for to servants of your quality, and some degrees under too, I allow of no mediators, though friends are commendable, for the dependence must come merely from me and to me. And as for the matter, I desire you not to think that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not; for I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions; and be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do; so that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now you know my mind so freely, that I may do all things ‘a mi modo;’ and so I rest your assured friend,

“CHARLES R.”

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

The second denial, dated from Lyndhurst, the third of September 1636, is as follows:—

“Wentworth,

Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against ; yet I must freely tell you that the cause of this desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies ; for if they can once find that you apprehend the dark settling of a storm when I say no, they will make you leave to care for any thing in a short while but for your fears ; and, believe it, the marks of my favour that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is not to disparage those favours, for envy flies most at the fairest mark, but to shew their use ; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service, it being truly so when the master without the servant’s importunity doth it ; otherwise men judge it more to proceed from the servant’s wit than the master’s favour. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, courtier, or a lover—Never make a defence or apology before you be accused ; and so I rest your assured friend,

“CHARLES R.”

There is somewhat of sharpness in these letters that might seem inconsistent with the affectionate friendship which the King certainly entertained for Wentworth, but Charles’s personal attachments were coloured by the seriousness of his nature, and regulated by a discerning judgment. He saw the errors of Wentworth’s character, and endeavoured to correct them by the wholesome chastisement of parental authority. Wentworth returned in the succeeding November, mortified, but with unshaken fidelity, to Ireland, where the altered complexion of affairs called him to the performance of duties which had not hitherto been necessary. The infection of the Scottish rebellion had been communicated

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

to that island, especially in the province of Ulster, the inhabitants of which were mostly of Scottish descent, and professed the persuasion of the Kirk. By equal exertions of prudence and firmness he averted the danger. He obliged all the Scots resident in Ireland to take an oath of allegiance, by which they also abjured "all covenants, oaths, or bonds of mutual defence and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his Majesty's sovereign and regal authority;" entered into a direct correspondence with the great leaders of the discontented in Scotland, and considerably damped their designs on the Irish by his persuasions or menaces; took the most vigorous measures for equipping an army; and totally frustrated for the time the hopes of the rebellious party. These arduous occupations consumed nearly three years, and in the month of September 1639, he passed over, by the King's private command, to England. He now obtained that rank in the Peerage which he had so long and earnestly desired: on the twelfth of the following January he was created Earl of Strafford, to which title was added that of Baron of Raby, and his office of Deputy of Ireland was at the same time dignified by the more lofty style of Lord Lieutenant.

Charles's affairs were at that precise epoch in a state of the most critical urgency, and his servants weak, timid, or disaffected. Among them Laud alone possessed at once talents, boldness, honesty, and loyalty; but his breeding had been that of a churchman, his political views were narrow, and his temper, as well as his habits, inclined him to intolerance. Between him and Strafford the closest friendship had long subsisted, and the King, hoping that the enlarged mind of the one might correct the occasional errors of the other, now determined to make them the joint depositories of his entire confidence, and Strafford the main adviser of his government. The Earl was accordingly received into the Cabinet, and became in the instant the ostensible chief minister. He proposed an immediate war with the Scottish rebels; that Parliaments might be summoned without delay both in England and Ireland; and that, as the supplies expected to be granted

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

would be long in levying, a sum should be raised by voluntary contribution among the nobility, and especially the King's immediate servants, to furnish the means for the war, and other pressing exigencies of the State. All was implicitly agreed to, and Strafford, after having subscribed twenty thousand pounds, departed once more for Ireland, and arrived in Dublin on the eighteenth of March 1640, where he immediately met the Parliament, which cheerfully gave him four subsidies. He appointed a Council of War for that country, and gave orders for the raising eight thousand foot, and five hundred cavalry, to be sent into Scotland, together with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, of the standing army of Ireland, the whole to serve under his command. He arranged these great affairs in the space of one fortnight, and quitting that country, never to return to it, embarked, in very bad health, on the third of April, and reached London, in a litter, about the middle of that month.

He found the English Parliament which had been called by his advice, then sitting, and a powerful opposition in the House of Commons to Charles's requisition of supplies. His illness had scarcely permitted him to communicate with the King on the posture of affairs, when his Majesty, prompted by the misrepresentations of Herbert, his Solicitor General, but, more especially of Sir Henry Vane, then one of his Secretaries of State, and without taking the advice of any others, suddenly dissolved the Parliament. It was believed by many, perhaps extravagantly, that Vane had been prompted to counsel this measure by his implacable hatred to the Earl of Strafford. Jealousies and disgusts had long subsisted between them, and his enmity to that nobleman had been sealed by Strafford's imprudent, and possibly perverse acceptance of the Barony of Raby, to which Vane, from some circumstances of his descent, thought he rather ought to have been preferred. Be this as it might, the dissolution of that Parliament was a severe blow to Strafford. The share he was known to have had in procuring it had added popularity to his power. Even the republican Whitelock confesses in his

“Memorials” that “the Earl of Strafford, for preventing the growth of the present evils, highly approved and magnified the King’s resolution of taking the advice of his Parliament of England, and had the honour of the people’s good opinion for it.” But the chief misfortune was, that it distracted and disconcerted in great measure the comprehensive and well digested plan which he had laid for the restoration of order and tranquillity, under a royal government.

The disappointment, together with the malice of the popular party, which could never for a moment forget the discredit, as well as the loss, that they had suffered by his secession, perhaps induced him now to accept a military command. It had in the preceding year become indispensably necessary to send troops against the Scots, who were preparing with much activity to invade the northern counties. That expedition had been shamefully mismanaged, and was concluded by a disgraceful treaty, which could scarcely be considered more than a suspension of hostilities. The King, who was already at York, determined at length to lead in person his army against them, and Strafford was appointed Lieutenant General, under the Earl of Northumberland, who was named to the chief command, but was prevented by a sudden and dangerous illness from assuming it. Strafford therefore entered on it, still retaining the commission of Lieutenant. Lord Clarendon informs us that “he was scarce recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward to serve the King with that vigour of mind they ought to do; but knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, he would rather serve as Lieutenant General under the Earl of Northumberland than that he should resign his commission; and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the north, before he had strength enough for the journey.” On his arrival in Northumberland he met the army shamefully flying, even without resistance, before the Scots, who had possessed themselves of Newcastle; and now, again says Lord

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

Clarendon, "those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him, and so far prevailed in it that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience; and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts, the Earl found it necessary to retire with the army to the skirts of Yorkshire, and himself to York, whither the King was come, leaving Northumberland and the Bishopric of Durham to be possessed by the victors." Charles, however, boldly testified his approbation of Strafford's endeavours in this service by immediately conferring on him the Order of the Garter, into which he was elected at York, on the twelfth of September 1640.

It was now that the King took the unusual step of summoning a great council of all the Peers, to meet him at York, and to take into their consideration his state, and that of the country. In that assembly, as well as by his private advice to the King, Strafford earnestly recommended the calling another Parliament, which it was at length agreed should meet on the third of November. It was determined also to propose a treaty to the Scots, and that it should be held at York, but they declined it, alleging that they doubted the safety of their Commissioners in a city where Strafford, who had proclaimed them traitors in Ireland, kept his head quarters. This declaration was esteemed to be, and indeed it was so intended, a public denunciation of vengeance against him by that people: it was agreed to hold the treaty at Ripon, from whence, unhappily for Strafford, and indeed for the country, it was soon after adjourned to London. The meeting of the Parliament, for ever miserably distinguished in English history by the title of the Long Parliament, approached, and it became a question in the Cabinet whether Strafford should attend it, or remain with the army. Whitelock, the fairest of the rebel writers, gives a more full account of the decision of that

question than is to be found elsewhere, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its fidelity. "The time of the meeting of the Parliament," says Whitelock, "drawing near, it was considered at York whether the Earl of Strafford should repair to the House, or continue in the North with the army. The King was earnest for his going up to the Parliament, as one of whose services he should have great occasion, and placed such confidence in his faithfulness and abilities. The Earl humbly desired his Majesty to excuse his going to the Parliament, alleging that he should not be able to do his Majesty any service there, but should rather be a means to hinder his affairs, in regard he foresaw that the great envy and ill will of the Parliament, and of the Scots, would be bent against him, whereas if he kept out of sight he would not be so much in their mind as he should be by shewing himself in Parliament; and, if they should fall upon him, he being at a distance, whatsoever they should conclude against him, he might the better avoid, and retire from any danger, having the liberty of being out of their hands, and to go over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to his Majesty; but if he should put himself into their power by coming up to the Parliament, it was evident that the House of Commons, and the Scots, with all their party, especially being provoked by his coming among them, would presently fall upon him, and prosecute his destruction. The King, notwithstanding these reasons, continued very earnest for Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, for which he laid his commands upon him, and told him that, as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the Parliament should not touch one hair of his head. The Earl thanked his Majesty, but replied, that if there should fall out a difference between his Majesty and his Parliament concerning him it would be a great disturbance to his Majesty's affairs, and he had rather suffer himself than that the King's affairs should in any measure suffer by reason of his particular. The King remained unalterable in his resolution concerning Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, saying that he

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

would want his advice in the great transactions which were like to be in this Parliament, and, in obedience to his commands, the Earl came up to London."

History cannot furnish another instance of so many adverse circumstances concurring to effect the ruin of one man, as those which in that hour surrounded Strafford. Pursued by the bitter hatred of the whole nation of Scotland, whose rebellion his vigilance would have thwarted, and his bravery chastised; of the Irish nobility, whose power he had curbed, to serve the interests of the community; and, most of all, of the party at home which he had justly abandoned: misrepresented to the people of England, who had been industriously taught to consider him as the author of their imaginary afflictions; disliked by the Queen, whose influence he had always wisely opposed; and scarcely considered by his ministerial colleagues, whose envy and jealousy of his favour, since that favour was now become a source of danger, had subsided into indifference. But the grandeur of Strafford's spirit, as well as the fervour of his loyalty, was unalterable. A few early days of the Parliament having been necessarily occupied by the usual forms which attend the first meeting of those assemblies, on the eleventh of November, Mr. Pym, in a long and studied speech, enumerated the grievances of the nation, and concluded by ascribing them chiefly to the counsels of Strafford. Other leaders of the party followed, and, as had been preconcerted, each poured forth against him the particular invective which he was thought best qualified to maintain. Scarcely a breath of opposition was heard, except in a few words from the virtuous Lord Falkland; and it was tumultuously determined that the Earl should be impeached of high treason; and Mr. Pym was ordered to state the resolution of the Commons to the Upper House, and to require that he might be placed in custody. Strafford had come down to meet the attack, and had scarcely seated himself among the Peers when his accuser entered, and preferred the impeachment, generally. The Earl was ordered to withdraw, and, having with difficulty obtained leave to utter a

few words, rather in defence of the privileges of the Peerage than of himself, was committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, and, shortly after, to the Tower.

The consequent proceedings against this great man are perhaps better known than any other important feature of English history. The virulent spirit of persecution and injustice by which they were conducted, and the dignified humility, and noble firmness, with which they were endured, produced so many touching circumstances which have found their way through the heart to the memory of the reader, that it would be impertinent to go into any lengthened detail of them. Among them, the horrible feeling of revenge which dictated the impeachment; the treachery and perjury of the testimony of Sir Henry Vane, who disclosed some words of obscure and uncertain import uttered by the Earl at the Council Board, and invented others; the infernal deceit of the Lord Say, who put the King on a measure to save Strafford's life which he knew would inevitably produce his destruction; the shameful artifices practised to intimidate the Crown and the Peers; and the total absence of sufficient evidence to warrant his conviction of high treason, or indeed of any other important public offence; stand prominently forward. Yet more interesting and affecting were the entire friendship and the helpless anxiety of Charles, and the unbounded magnanimity and patience of the devoted victim: the King's promise that his life should be safe, and the Earl's exquisite letter, by which he released his Majesty of that promise, and besought him to sign the bill for his attainder; the wisdom and eloquence of his defence; the piety and philosophy of his preparation for death; and the unexampled heroism of his departure. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twelfth of May, 1641.

Strafford's mind and heart, as will ever be those of truly great men, abounded in simplicity: it is therefore that we find so little disagreement in the reports of those who have undertaken to portray them. His friends have not endeavoured to conceal his faults, nor have his enemies ventured to deny his excellencies;

## FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

but a candid character insists always on a candid story, and he was perhaps the only eminent statesman whom party spirit has not dared widely to misrepresent, as well in private as public capacities. "Thus fell," says Whitelock, "this noble Earl, who, for natural parts and abilities, and for improvement of knowledge by experience in the greatest affairs; for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind; hath left few behind him who may be ranked equal with him." "And thus," more largely writes Lord Clarendon, "fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time when he led those people who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other, for he had a readiness of conception and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both in things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things, for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him, and scarce any but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined, whose abilities were equal to his; so that, upon the matter, he relied wholly upon himself, and, discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed, and which was by the hand of heaven strangely punished by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and Sir Henry Vane. In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself may not unfitly be applied to him, 'that no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies,' for his acts of both kinds were most notorious."

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

But Sir George Radclyffe, his kinsman, and most intimate friend and constant companion, brings us home to him in his closet and at his table, disclosing, in a curious piece which may be found in the appendix to the Strafford Papers, together with many remarks on his public conduct, the most minute circumstances of his private character and domestic life. I will add a few extracts from that large and irregular mass, and have done. Radclyffe tells us that "he loved justice for justice itself, taking great delight to free a poor man from a powerful oppressor, or to punish bold wickedness, whereof there are sundry instances to be given, both at York and in Ireland, which lost him some men's good will, which he thought better to be lost than kept upon those terms:" "he bore a particular personal affection for the King, and was always a lover of monarchy, although some that observed him in former parliaments thought not so; it is true," adds Sir George, "he was a subject, and sensible enough of the people's liberties; and he always thought they were best preserved when they went hand in hand, and maintained one another. He always disliked the abuse of royal authority to the oppression of subjects for private ends and interests; yet, it being most difficult and hard to keep the interests of the King and people from incroaching one upon another, the longer he lived his experience taught him that it was far safer the King should increase in power than that the people should gain advantages on the King: that may turn to the prejudice of some particular sufferers, this draws with it the ruin of the whole. He was naturally exceeding choleric, an infirmity with which he had great wrestlings: he had sundry friends that often admonished him of it, and he had the great prudence to take in good part their admonitions: nay, I can say that I, one of his most intimate friends, never gained more upon his trust and affection than by this freedom with him in telling him of his weaknesses. But amongst all his qualities none was more eminent than his friendship, wherein he did study, and delighted to excel. He never had any thing in his possession or power which he thought too dear for his friends.

#### FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

He was never weary to take pains for them, or to employ the utmost of his abilities in their service. No fear, trouble, or expense, deterred him from speaking or doing any thing which their occasions required." In the duties and affections of husband and father, his conduct was not to be excelled.

The Earl of Strafford was thrice married : first to Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, who died childless ; secondly to Arabella, daughter of John Holles, Earl of Clare, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, and two daughters, Anne, wife of Edward Watson, Lord Rockingham, and Arabella, married to Justin Macarty, son to Donogh, Earl of Clancarty, in Ireland. His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes, by whom he had many children, all of whom died very young, except one daughter Margaret, who survived him.









# Date Due

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MAY 1 '44

DEC 18 '46

APR 20 '54

MAY 7 '59

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